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LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

THE LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND FROM HIS PRINTED CORRESPONDENCE
AND OTHER WRITINGS,

BY

JOHN BIGELOW.

24259

VOL. III.

"Plurimæ consentiunt gentes populi primarium fuisse virum."
CICERO DE SENECTUTE (*Catonis*), § 61.

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1781.

To the President of Congress, dated Passy, 12 March, 1781.

I HAD the honor of receiving on the 13th of last month your Excellency's letter of the 1st of January, together with the instructions of November 28th and December 27th, a copy of those to Colonel Laurens, and the letter to the King. I immediately drew a memorial, enforcing as strongly as I could the requests that are contained in that letter, and directed by the instructions, and I delivered the same with the letter, which were both well received; but, the ministry being extremely occupied with other weighty affairs, and I obtaining for some time only general answers, that something would be done for us, &c., and Mr. Laurens not arriving, I wrote again, and pressed strongly for a decision on the subject; that I might be able to write explicitly by this opportunity, what aids the Congress were, or were not, to expect; the regulation of their operations for the cam-

paign depending on the information I should be enabled to give.

Upon this, I received a note, appointing Saturday last for a meeting with the minister, which I attended punctually. He assured me of the King's good will to the United States; remarking, however, that, being on the spot, I must be sensible of the great expense France was actually engaged in, and the difficulty of providing for it, which rendered the lending us twenty-five millions at present impracticable. But he informed me, that the letter from the Congress, and my memorials, had been under his Majesty's consideration; and observed, as to loans in general, that the sum we wanted to borrow in Europe was large, and that the depreciation of our paper had hurt our credit on this side of the water; adding, also, that the King could not possibly favor a loan for us in his dominions, because it would interfere with, and be a prejudice to, those he was under the necessity of obtaining himself to support the war; but that, to give the States a signal proof of his friendship, his Majesty had resolved to grant them the sum of six millions, not as a loan, but as a free gift. This sum, the minister informed me, was exclusive of the three millions, which he had before obtained for me, to pay the Congress drafts for interest, &c., except in the current year.

To the President of Congress, dated Passy, 12 March, 1781.

I must now beg leave to say something relating to myself; a subject with which I have not often troubled the Congress. I have passed my seventy-fifth year, and I find that the long and severe fit of the gout, which I had the last winter, has shaken me exceedingly, and I am yet far from having recovered the bodily strength I before enjoyed. I do not

know that my mental faculties are impaired; perhaps I shall be the last to discover that; but I am sensible of great diminution in my activity, a quality I think particularly necessary in your minister for this court. I am afraid, therefore, that your affairs may some time or other suffer by my deficiency. I find also, that the business is too heavy for me, and too confining. The constant attendance at home, which is necessary for receiving and accepting your bills of exchange (a matter foreign to my ministerial functions), to answer letters, and perform other parts of my employment, prevents my taking the air and exercise, which my annual journeys formerly used to afford me, and which contributed much to the preservation of my health. There are many other little personal attentions, which the infirmities of age render necessary to an old man's comfort, even in some degree to the continuance of his existence, and with which business often interferes.

I have been engaged in public affairs, and enjoyed public confidence, in some shape or other, during the long term of fifty years, and honor sufficient to satisfy any reasonable ambition; and I have no other left but that of repose, which I hope the Congress will grant me, by sending some person to supply my place. At the same time, I beg they may be assured, that it is not any the least doubt of their success in the glorious cause, nor any disgust received in their service, that induces me to decline it, but purely and simply the reasons above mentioned. And, as I cannot at present undergo the fatigues of a sea voyage (the last having been almost too much for me), and would not again expose myself to the hazard of capture and imprisonment in this time of war, I purpose to remain here at least till the peace; perhaps it may be for the remainder of my life; and, if

any knowledge or experience I have acquired here may be thought of use to my successor, I shall freely communicate it, and assist him with any influence I may be supposed to have, or counsel that may be desired of me.*

I have one request more to make, which, if I have served the Congress to their satisfaction, I hope they will not refuse me; it is, that they will be pleased to take under their protection my grandson, William Temple Franklin. I have educated him from his infancy, and I brought him over with an intention of placing him where he might be qualified for the profession of the law; but the constant occasion I had for his services as a private secretary during the time of the Commissioners, and more extensively since their departure, has induced me to keep him always with me; and indeed, being continually disappointed of the secretary Congress had at different times intended me, it would have been impossible for me, without this young gentleman's assistance, to have gone through the business incumbent on me. He has therefore lost so much of the time necessary for law studies, that I think it rather advisable for him to continue, if it may be, in the line of public foreign affairs; for which he seems qualified by a sagacity and judgment above his years, and great diligence and activity,

* Franklin was weary of contending with foes, secret and open, so far from their base of operations. This, no doubt, had much to do with this urgent request to be relieved. The Congress not only declined to accede to it, but made him joint Commissioner with Jay and Adams to settle the terms of peace. In a letter to the President of Congress, dated at Madrid, April 25th, 1781, Mr. Jay said: "I perceive Dr. Franklin desires to retire. This circumstance calls upon me to assure Congress, that I have reason to be perfectly satisfied with his conduct towards me, and that I have received from him all the aid and attention I could wish or expect. His character is very high here, and I really believe that the respectability, which he enjoys throughout Europe, has been of general use to our cause and country."—ED.

exact probity, a genteel address, a facility in speaking well the French tongue, and all the knowledge of business to be obtained by a four years' constant employment in the secretary's office, where he may be said to have served a kind of apprenticeship.

After all the allowance I am capable of making for the partiality of a parent to his offspring, I cannot but think he may in time make a very able foreign minister for Congress, in whose service his fidelity may be relied on. But I do not at present propose him as such, for though he is now of age, a few years more of experience will not be amiss. In the mean time, if they should think fit to employ him as a secretary to their minister at any European court, I am persuaded they will have reason to be satisfied with his conduct, and I shall be thankful for his appointment, as a favor to me.

My accounts have been long ready for the examination of some person to be appointed for that purpose.

To William Hodgson, dated Passy, 1 April, 1781.

I received your respected favor of the 20th past, and am shocked exceedingly at the account you give me of Digges. He that robs the rich even of a single guinea is a villain; but what is he who can break his sacred trust, by robbing a poor man and a prisoner of eighteen pence given in charity for his relief, and repeat that crime as often as there are weeks in a winter, and multiply it by robbing as many poor men every week as make up the number of near six hundred? We have no name in our language for such atrocious wickedness. If such a fellow is not damned, it is not worth while to keep a devil.

I am sorry you have been obliged to advance money. I

desired Mr. Grand, some time since, to order two hundred pounds to be paid you in London. If that is not done, draw on him for the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, payable at thirty days' sight, and your bill shall be duly honored.

To Mr. Jay, dated Passy, Aug. 20, 1781.

Digges, a Maryland merchant, residing in London, who pretended to be a zealous American, and to have much concern for our poor people in the English prisons, drew upon me for their relief at different times last winter to the amount of four hundred and ninety-five pounds sterling, which he said had been drawn for upon him by the gentlemen at Portsmouth and Plymouth, who had the care of the distribution. To my utter astonishment I have since learned, that the villain had not applied above thirty pounds of the money to that use, and that he has failed and absconded.

To William Carmichael, dated Passy, 12 April, 1781.

I thank you much for your friendly hints of the operations of my enemies, and of the means I might use to defeat them. Having in view at present no other point to gain but that of rest, I do not take their malice so much amiss, as it may farther my project, and perhaps be some advantage to you. —— and —— are open, and, so far, honorable enemies; the ——, if enemies, are more covered. I never did any of them the least injury, and can conceive no other source of their malice but envy. To be sure, the excessive respect shown me here by all ranks of people, and the little notice taken of them, was a mortifying circumstance; but it was what I could neither prevent or remedy. Those who feel pain at seeing others enjoy pleasure, and are unhappy, must meet daily with so many causes of torment, that I conceive them

to be already in a state of damnation; and on that account I ought to drop all resentment with regard to those two gentlemen. But I cannot help being concerned at the mischief their ill tempers will be continually doing in our public affairs, whenever they have any concern in them.

I remember the maxim you mention of Charles the Fifth, *Yo y el Tiempo;* and have somewhere met with an answer to it in this distich.

> "I and Time 'gainst any two;
> Chance and I 'gainst Time and you."

And I think the gentlemen you have at present to deal with, would do wisely to guard a little more against certain chances.

The prince of Maceran, with several persons of his nation, did me the honor of breakfasting with me on Monday last, when I presented the compliments you charged me with. Mr. Cumberland has not yet arrived in Paris, as far as I have heard.

The discontents in our army have been quieted. There was in them not the least disposition of revolting to the enemy. I thank you for the Maryland captain's news, which I hope will be confirmed. They have heard something of it in England, as you will see by the papers, and are very uneasy about it, as well as about their news from the East Indies.

To Lafayette, dated Passy, 14 May, 1781.

You are a very good correspondent, which I do not deserve, as I am a bad one. The truth is, I have too much business upon my hands, a great deal of it foreign to my function as a minister, which interferes with my writing regularly to my

friends. But I am nevertheless extremely sensible of your kindness in sending me such frequent and full intelligence of the state of affairs on your side of the water, and in letting me see by your letters, that your health continues, as well as your zeal for our cause and country.

You mention my having enemies in America. You are luckier, for I think you have none here, nor anywhere. Your friends have heard of your being gone against the traitor Arnold, and are anxious to hear of your success, and that you have brought him to punishment. Enclosed is a copy of a letter from his agent in England, captured by one of our cruisers, and by which the price or reward he received for his treachery may be guessed at. Judas sold only one man, Arnold three millions. Judas got for his one man thirty pieces of silver, Arnold not a halfpenny a head. A miserable bargain! especially when one considers the quantity of infamy he has acquired to himself, and entailed on his family.*

The English are in a fair way of gaining still more enemies; they play a desperate game. Fortune may favor them, as it sometimes does a drunken dicer; but by their tyranny in the East, they have at length roused the powers there against them, and I do not know that they have in the West a single friend. If they lose their India commerce (which is one of their present great supports), and one battle at sea, their credit is gone, and their power follows.

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* The letter here mentioned was from a banker in London to General Arnold, stating that he had received from him bills to the amount of five thousand pounds sterling, which the banker said he had invested in the stocks. This was supposed to be the money paid to Arnold as the reward of his treachery. After the war, a pension was likewise granted to each of his children.—S.

Thus empires, by pride, folly, and extravagance, ruin themselves like individuals. M. de la Motte Piquet has snatched from between their teeth a good deal of their West India prey, having taken twenty-two sail of their homeward bound prizes. One of our American privateers has taken two more, and brought them into Brest, and two were burnt; there were thirty-four in company, with two men-of-war of the line and two frigates, who saved themselves by flight, but we do not hear of their being yet got in.

I think it was a wise measure to send Colonel Laurens here, who could speak knowingly of the state of the army. It has been attended with all the success that perhaps could reasonably be expected, though not with all that was wished. He has fully justified your character of him, and returns thoroughly possessed of my esteem; but that cannot and ought not to please him so much, as a little more money would have done for his beloved army. This court continues firm and steady in its friendship, and does every thing it can for us. Can we not do a little more for ourselves? My successor (for I have desired the Congress to send me one) will find it in the best disposition towards us, and I hope he will take care to cultivate that disposition. You, who know the leading people of both countries, can perhaps judge better than any member of Congress of a person suitable for this station.

I wish you may be in a way to give your advice, when the matter is agitated in that assembly. I have been long tired of the trade of minister, and wished for a little repose before I went to sleep for good and all. I thought I might have held out till the peace; but, as that seems at a greater distance than the end of my days, I grow impatient. I would not, however, quit the service of the public, if I did

not sincerely think that it would be easy for the Congress, with your counsel, to find a fitter man. God bless you, and crown all your labors with success.

To John Adams, dated Passy, 19 May, 1781.

I have with you, no doubt that America will be easily able to pay off not only the interest, but the principal, of all the debt she may contract in this war. But whether duties upon her exports will be the best method of doing it, is a question I am not so clear in. England raised indeed a great revenue by duties on tobacco. But it was by virtue of a prohibition of foreign tobaccos, and thereby obliging the internal consumer to pay those duties. If America were to lay a duty of five pence sterling a pound on the exportation of her tobacco, would any European nation buy it? Would not the colonies of Spain and Portugal, and the Ukraine of Russia, furnish it much cheaper? Was not England herself obliged, for such reasons, to drop the duty on tobacco she furnished to France? Would it not cost an immense sum in officers, &c., to guard our long coast against smuggling of tobacco, and running it out to avoid a duty? And would not many even of those officers be corrupted and connive at it? It is possibly an erroneous opinion, but I find myself rather inclined to adopt that modern one, which supposes it best for every country to leave its trade entirely free from all incumbrances. Perhaps no country does this at present. Holland comes the nearest to it; and her commercial wealth seems to have increased in proportion.

Your Excellency has done me the honor of announcing to me your appointment. I hope soon to return the compliment by informing you of my demission. I find the various employments of merchant, banker, judge of admi-

ralty, consul, &c. &c.; besides my ministerial function, too multifarious and too heavy for my old shoulders; and have therefore requested Congress that I may be relieved; for in this point I agree even with my enemies, that another may easily be found who can better execute them.

To Messrs. D. Wendorp and Thomas Hope Heyhger, dated Passy, 8 June, 1781.

I received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me on the 31st past, relating to your ship, supposed to be retaken from the English by an American privateer, and carried into Morlaix. I apprehend that you have been misinformed, as I do not know of any American privateer at present in these seas. I have the same sentiments with you of the injustice of the English, in their treatment of your nation. They seem at present to have renounced all pretension to any other honor, than that of being the first piratical state in the world. There are three employments, which I wish the law of nations would protect, so that they should never be molested or interrupted by enemies even in time of war; I mean farmers, fishermen, and merchants; because their employments are not only innocent, but for the common subsistence and benefit of the human species in general. As men grow more enlightened, we may hope that this will in time be the case. Till then we must submit, as well as we can, to the evils we cannot remedy.

To John Adams, dated Passy, 11 June, 1781.

Mr. Grand has communicated to me a letter from your Excellency to him, relating to certain charges in your account, on which you seem to desire to have my opinion. As we are all new in these matters, I consulted, when I was making up my account, one of the oldest foreign ministers here, as to the

custom in such cases. He informed me, that it was not perfectly uniform with the ministers of all courts, but that in general, where a salary was given for service and expenses, the expenses understood were merely those necessary to the man, such as housekeeping, clothing, and coach; but that the rent of the hotel in which he dwelt, the payment of couriers, the postage of letters, the salary of clerks, the stationery for his bureau, with the feasts and illuminations made on public occasions, were esteemed the expenses of the Prince, or State that appointed him, being for the service or honor of his prince or nation, and either entirely, or in great part, expenses, that, as a private man, he would have been under no necessity of incurring. These, therefore, were to be charged in his accounts. He remarked, it was true, that the minister's housekeeping as well as his house was usually, and in some sort necessarily more expensive, than those of a private person; but this, he said, was considered in his salary, to avoid trouble in accounts; but that, where the Prince or State had not purchased or built a house for their minister, which was sometimes the case, they always paid his house rent.

I have stated my own accounts according to this information; and I mention them, that, if they seem to you reasonable, we may be uniform in our charges, by your charging in the same manner; or, if objections to any of them occur to you, that you would communicate them to me for the same reason.

Thus you see my opinion, that the articles you mention, of *courtage, commission,* and *port de lettres,* are expenses that ought to be borne, not by you, but by the United States. Yet it seems to me more proper that you should pay them, and charge them with the other articles above

mentioned, than that they should be paid by me, who, not knowing the circumstances, cannot judge (as you can) of the truth and justice of such an account when presented, and who, besides, have no orders to pay more on your account, than your net salary.

With regard to that salary, though your receipts to Fizeau and Grand, shown to me, might be quite sufficient to prove they had paid you the sums therein mentioned, yet, as there are vouchers for them, and which they have a right to retain, I imagine it will be clearest if you draw upon me, agreeably to the order of Congress; and, if this is quarterly, it will be the most convenient to me.

To William Jackson, dated Passy, 5 July, at 6 in the morning. 1781.

I have this instant received your letter of the 2d, urging the delivery of the money. I must be short in my reply, as your express waits.

Colonel Laurens indeed obtained a promise of ten millions to be raised by a loan in Holland. I understood, while he was here, that that loan was in train, and that the million and a half to be sent with you was a part of it. I since learn, that nothing has yet been obtained in Holland, that the success is not yet certain, and that the money in question is a part of the six millions I had obtained before his arrival, upon the strength of which I accepted the bills drawn on his father, and on Mr. Jay, and without which acceptances the Congress's credit in America would have been ruined, and a loss incurred of twenty per cent. upon the protests. I cannot obtain more money here at present; and those bills, being accepted, must be paid, as well as those I accepted on your earnest request, for the great unexpected purchase you made in Holland.

Colonel Laurens has carried two millions and a half of that six millions with him, which will serve till the loan in Holland produces a further supply. In the mean time I cannot suffer the credit of our country to be destroyed, if, by detaining this money, it may be saved. And, if I were to consent to its going, our banker would be obliged to arrest great part of it as belonging to the States, he being in advance for them, which would occasion much disagreeable noise, and very ill consequences to our credit in Europe.

I find, by Mr. Viemerange's account just received, that Mr. Laurens's orders have more than absorbed all the money he did not take with him. I applaud the zeal you have both shown in the affair; but I see, that nobody cares how much I am distressed, provided they can carry their own points. I must, therefore, take what care I can of mine, theirs and mine being equally intended for the service of the public. I am sorry to learn that the vessel is detained for this express. I understood by your last, that she waited for convoy. I heartily wish you a good voyage, and am, with great esteem, &c.

To William Jackson, dated Passy, 5 July, 1781.

I received your letter of the 2d instant, by your first express, this morning at six, answered it, and sent him away immediately. I have just now received your second express, of the same date, in which you threaten me with a proceeding, that I apprehend exceedingly imprudent, as it can answer no good end to you, must occasion much scandal, and be thereby very prejudicial to the affairs of the Congress.

But I cannot, therefore, consent to suffer their bills, to the amount of more than a million accepted and expected,

to go back protested for want of this money. I have nothing to change in the answer above mentioned. You will however follow your own judgment, as I must follow mine; and you will take upon yourself the consequences.

To William Jackson, dated Passy, 6 July, 1781.

I received and answered two of your expresses yesterday morning, and in the evening I received a third letter from you, all dated the 2d instant.

In this last you tell me, "that I must be sensible I cannot have the disposal of the money, as it was obtained without either my knowledge or concurrence, by Colonel Laurens, appointed special minister for that purpose." I do not desire to diminish the merit of Colonel Laurens. I believe he would have been glad, if it had been in his power, to have procured ten times the sum; and that no application or industry on his part for that purpose would have been wanting. But I cannot let this injurious assertion of yours pass, without expressing my surprise, that you, who were always with that gentleman, should be so totally ignorant of that transaction. The six millions, of which he took with him two and a half, of which one and a half were sent to Holland, and of which more than the remainder is ordered in stores from hence, was a *free gift* from the King's goodness (not a *loan* to be *repaid with interest*), and was obtained by *my application*, long before Colonel Laurens's arrival.

I had also given in a list of the stores to be provided, though on his coming I cheerfully gave up the further prosecution of that business into his hands, as he was better acquainted with the particular wants of the army, than I could be, and it was one of the purposes of his appointment.

Thus no part of the affair was done without my "*knowledge and concurrence*," except the sending a million and a half of the specie to Holland. This was indeed a secret to me. I had heard of that sum's being ready there to embark, but I always, till lately, understood it to be a part of the Dutch loan, which I am about to mention, or I should certainly have opposed that operation. What Colonel Laurens really obtained, and a great service I hope it will prove, was a loan upon interest of ten millions, to be borrowed on the credit of this court in Holland. I have not heard, that this loan has yet produced any thing, and therefore I do not know that a single livre exists, or has existed in Europe, of his procuring for the States. On the contrary, he and you have drawn from me considerable sums, as necessary for your expenses, and he left me near forty thousand livres to pay for the *Alliance;* and, moreover, engaged me in a debt in Holland, which I understood might amount to about fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and which you contrived to make fifty thousand pounds.

When I mentioned to him the difficulty I should find to pay the drafts, he said, "You have the remainder of the six millions." He gave me no account of the dispositions he had made, and it is but lately I have learnt, that there is no remainder. To gratify you, and to get that ship out, which could not have stirred without me, I have engaged for the vast sum above mentioned, which I am sure I shall be much distressed to pay, and therefore have not deserved at your hands the affront you are advised to menace me with.

And since I find you make it a point of reflection upon me, that I want to apply money to the payment of my engagements for the Congress, which was obtained by Colonel Laurens for other purposes, I must request, that

you will upon this better information take occasion to correct that error, if you have communicated it to any other person.

By the letters you showed me, that had passed between Mr. Adams and you, I perceived he had imbibed an opinion, that Colonel Laurens had, as he expressed it, done more for the United States in the short time of his being in Europe, than all the rest of their diplomatic corps put together. I should never have disputed this, because I had rather lend a little credit to a friend, than take any from him, especially when I am persuaded he will make a good use of it; but, when his friends will make such supposititious credit a matter of reproach to me, it is not right to continue silent.

As to the safety of your excellent conveyance you mention, I must own, I have some doubts about it, and I fear I shall hear of the arrival of that ship in England, before she sees America. Be that as it may, I am clear that no use can possibly be made of the money in America for supporting the credit of the States, equal in any degree to the effect it must have for the same purpose, when applied to the payment of their bills here, which must otherwise go back protested. And I am sure it will be exceedingly prejudicial to their credit, if, by the rash proceeding you threaten, this situation of their affairs becomes the subject of public talk and discussion in Europe.

To Robert Morris,* dated Passy, 26 July, 1781.

I have just received your very friendly letter of the 6th of June past, announcing your appointment to the superintendence of our finances. This gave me great pleasure, as, from your intelligence, integrity, and abilities, there is reason to hope

* Recently appointed superintendent of finance by Congress.—ED.

every advantage, that the public can possibly receive from such an office. You are wise in estimating beforehand, as the principal advantage you can expect, the consciousness of having done service to your country; for the business you have undertaken is of so complex a nature, and must engross so much of your time and attention, as necessarily to injure your private interests; and the public is often niggardly, even of its thanks, while you are sure of being censured by malevolent critics and bug-writers, who will abuse you while you are serving them, and wound your character in nameless pamphlets; thereby resembling those little dirty insects, that attack us only in the dark, disturb our repose, molesting and wounding us, while our sweat and blood are contributing to their subsistence. Every assistance that my situation here, as long as it continues, may enable me to afford you, shall certainly be given; for, besides my affection for the glorious cause we are both engaged in, I value myself upon your friendship, and shall be happy if mine can be made of any use to you.

To William Carmichael, dated Passy, 24 Aug., 1781.

The Congress have done me the honor to refuse accepting my resignation, and insist on my continuing in their service till the peace. I must therefore buckle again to business, and thank God that my health and spirits are of late improved. I fancy it may have been a double mortification to those enemies you have mentioned to me, that I should ask as a favor what they hoped to vex me by taking from me; and that I should nevertheless be continued. But this sort of considerations should never influence our conduct. We ought always to do what appears best to be done, without much regarding what others may think of it. I call this continuance an

honor, and I really esteem it to be a greater than my first appointment, when I consider that all the interest of my enemies, united with my own request, were not sufficient to prevent it.

To a Friend, dated Passy. Your comparison of the *keystone of an arch* is very pretty, tending to make me content with my situation. But I suppose you have heard our story of the *harrow;* if not, here it is. A farmer, in our country, sent two of his servants to borrow one of a neighbour, ordering them to bring it between them on their shoulders. When they came to look at it, one of them, who had much wit and cunning, said; "What could our master mean by sending only two men to bring this harrow? No two men upon earth are strong enough to carry it." "Poh!" said the other, who was vain of his strength, "what do you talk of two men? One man may carry it. Help it upon my shoulders and see." As he proceeded with it, the wag kept exclaiming, "Zounds, how strong you are! I could not have thought it. Why, you are a Samson! There is not such another man in America. What amazing strength God has given you! But you will kill yourself! Pray put it down and rest a little, or let me bear a part of the weight." "No, no," said he, being more encouraged by the compliments, than oppressed by the burden; "you shall see I can carry it quite home." And so he did. In this particular I am afraid my part of the imitation will fall short of the original.

To William Nixon, dated Passy, 5 September, 1781. REVEREND SIR,—I duly received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me the 25th past, together with the valuable little book, of which you are the author. There can be no doubt,

but that a gentleman of your learning and abilities might make a very useful member of society in our new country, and meet with encouragement there, either as an instructor in one of our Universities, or as a clergyman of the Church of Ireland. But I am not empowered to engage any person to go over thither, and my abilities to assist the distressed are very limited. I suppose you will soon be set at liberty in England by the cartel for the exchange of prisoners. In the mean time, if five *louis-d'ors* may be of present service to you, please to draw on me for that sum, and your bill shall be paid on sight. Some time or other you may have an opportunity of assisting with an equal sum a stranger who has equal need of it. Do so. By that means you will discharge any obligation you may suppose yourself under to me. Enjoin him to do the same on occasion. By pursuing such a practice, much good may be done with little money. Let kind offices go round. Mankind are all of a family.

To Francis Hopkinson, dated Passy, 13 Sept., 1781.

As to the friends and enemies you just mention, I have hitherto, thanks to God, had plenty of the former kind; they have been my treasure; and it has perhaps been of no disadvantage to me, that I have had a few of the latter. They serve to put us upon correcting the faults we have, and avoiding those we are in danger of having. They counteract the mischief flattery might do us, and their malicious attacks make our friends more zealous in serving us and promoting our interest. At present, I do not know of more than two such enemies that I enjoy, viz. —— and ——. I deserved the enmity of the latter, because I might have avoided it by paying him a compliment, which I neglected. That of the

former I owe to the people of France, who happened to respect me too much and him too little; which I could bear, and he could not. They are unhappy, that they cannot make everybody hate me as much as they do; and I should be so, if my friends did not love me much more than those gentlemen can possibly love one another.

To the President of Congress, dated Passy, 13 Sept., 1781.

I duly received the two letters your Excellency did me the honor of writing to me, both dated the 19th of June, together with the letter addressed to the King and the three Commissioners, with the instructions relative to the negotiations for peace. I immediately went to Versailles and presented the letter, which was graciously received. I communicated also to Count de Vergennes a copy of your instructions after having deciphered them. He read them while I was with him, and expressed his satisfaction with the unreserved confidence placed in his court by the Congress, assuring me, that they never would have cause to regret it, for that the King had the honor of the United States at heart, as well as their welfare and independence. Indeed, this has already been manifested in the negotiations relative to the plenipotentiaries; and I have had so much experience of his Majesty's goodness to us, in the aids afforded us from time to time, and of the sincerity of this upright and able minister, who never promised me any thing which he did not punctually perform, that I cannot but think the confidence well and judiciously placed, and that it will have happy effects.

I am extremely sensible of the honor done me by the Congress in this new appointment. I beg they would accept my thankful acknowledgments; and, since they judge

I may be serviceable, though I had requested leave to retire, I submit dutifully to their determination, and shall do my utmost to merit in some degree the favorable opinion they appear to have of me. I am the more encouraged in this resolution, as within the last three months I find my health and strength considerably reëstablished.

I wish, however, that a consul-general may soon be appointed for this kingdom; it would ease me of abundance of troublesome business, to which I am not equal, and which interferes with my own important functions.

To John Adams, dated Passy, 12 October, 1781.

I have never known a peace made, even the most advantageous, that was not censured as inadequate, and the makers condemned as injudicious or corrupt. "BLESSED *are the peace-makers*" is, I suppose, to be understood in the other world; for in this they are frequently *cursed*. Being as yet rather too much attached to this world, I had therefore no ambition to be concerned in fabricating this peace, and know not how I came to be put into the commission. I esteem it, however, as an honor to be joined with you in so important a business; and, if the execution of it shall happen in my time, which I hardly expect, I shall endeavour to assist in discharging the duty according to the best of my judgment.

I have heard nothing of Mr. Jefferson. I imagine the story of his being taken prisoner is not true. From his original unwillingness to leave America, when I was sent hither, I think his coming doubtful, unless he had been made acquainted with and consented to the appointment.

I hope your health is fully established. I doubt not but

you have the advice of skilful physicians, otherwise I should presume to offer mine, which would be, though you find yourself well, to take a few doses of bark, by way of fortifying your constitution, and preventing a return of your fever.

To Edmund Burke, dated Passy, 15 October, 1781.

I received but a few days since your very friendly letter of August last, on the subject of General Burgoyne.

Since the foolish part of mankind will make wars from time to time with each other, not having sense enough otherwise to settle their differences, it certainly becomes the wiser part, who cannot prevent those wars, to alleviate as much as possible the calamities attending them. Mr. Burke always stood high in my esteem; but his affectionate concern for his friend renders him still more amiable, and makes the honor he does me of admitting me of the number still more precious.

I do not think the Congress have any wish to persecute General Burgoyne. I never heard, till I received your letter, that they had recalled him; if they have made such a resolution, it must be, I suppose, a conditional one, to take place in case their offer of exchanging him for Mr. Laurens should not be accepted; a resolution intended merely to enforce that offer.

I have just received an authentic copy of the resolve containing that offer; and authorizing me to make it. As I have no communication with your ministers, I send it enclosed to you. If you can find any means of negotiating this business, I am sure the restoring of another worthy man to his family and friends will be an addition to your pleasure.

To Thomas McKean, President of Congress, dated Passy, 5 Nov., 1781.

Having no direct communication with the British ministers, and Mr. Burke appearing, by a letter to me, warmly interested in favor of his friend, General Burgoyne,* to prevent his being recalled, I have requested and empowered him to negotiate that exchange, and I soon expect his answer. The late practice of sending to England prisoners taken in America has greatly augmented the number of those unfortunate men, and proportionally increased the expense of relieving them. The subscriptions for that purpose in England have ceased. The allowance I have made to them of sixpence each per week during the summer, though small, amounts to a considerable sum; and, during the winter, I shall be obliged to double, if not treble it. The Admiralty there will not accept any English in exchange, but such as have been taken by Americans, and absolutely refuse to allow any of the paroles given to our privateers by English prisoners discharged at sea, except in one instance, that of fifty-three men taken in the *Snake* sloop, by the *Pilgrim* and *Rambler*, which was a case attended, as they say, with some particular circumstances. I know not what the circumstances were, but shall be glad to see the fifty-three of our people, whom they promised to send me by the first cartel. I have above five hundred other paroles

* General Burgoyne, who was taken prisoner with his whole army at Saratoga, and was now in England on parole, was an illegitimate son of Lord Bingley. He ran away with a daughter of the eleventh Earl of Derby, and thereby ultimately secured an influence at court which led to his rapid promotion. He distinguished himself in the war between Spain and Portugal in 1762. He sat in Parliament for many years; was a brave but unfortunate general, an effective speaker, and had some success as a writer for the stage. His remains received the honors of Westminster Abbey.—ED.

solemnly given in writing, by which the Englishmen promised, either to send our people in exchange, or to surrender themselves to me in France, not one of which has been regarded, so little faith and honor remain in that corrupted nation. Our privateers, when in the European seas, will rarely bring in their prisoners when they can get rid of them at sea. Some of our poor brave countrymen have been in that cruel captivity now near four years. I hope the Congress will take this matter into immediate consideration, and find some means for their deliverance, and to prevent the sending more from America. By my last accounts, the number now in the several prisons amounts to upwards of eight hundred.

I request also some direction from Congress (having never received any) respecting the allowance to be made to them while they remain there. They complain, that the food given them is insufficient. Their petition to the English government, to have an equal allowance with the French and Spanish prisoners, has been rejected, which makes the small pecuniary assistance I can send them more necessary. If a certain number of English prisoners could be set apart in America, treated exactly in the same manner, and their exchange refused till it should be agreed to set these at liberty in Europe, one might hope to succeed in procuring the discharge of our people. Those, who escape and pass through France to get home, put me also to a great expense for their land journeys, which could be prevented if they could be exchanged, as they would be landed here in ports.

The very friendly disposition of this court towards us still continues, and will, I hope, continue for ever. From my own inclination, as well as in obedience to the orders

of Congress, every thing in my power shall be done to cultivate that disposition; but I trust it will be remembered, that the best friends may be over burdened; that, by too frequent, too large, and too importunate demands upon it, the most cordial friendship may be wearied; and, as nothing is more teasing than repeated, unexpected large demands for money, I hope the Congress will absolutely put an end to the practice of drawing on their ministers, and thereby obliging them to worry their respective courts for the means of payment. It may have otherwise very ill effects in depressing the spirit of a minister, and destroying that freedom of representation, which, on many occasions, it might be proper for him to make use of.

I heartily congratulate you, Sir, on your being called to the honorable and important office of President, and wish you every kind of prosperity.

To an Irish Lady, dated Passy, 21 November, 1781.

I received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me the 26th of last month; in answer to which I ought to inform you, that I was born in America, now near seventy-six years since, that I never was in Ireland till the year 1772, which was for a few weeks only, and I did not pass thence to America with any person of my name, but returned to England; nor had I ever any knowledge of the John Franklin you mention. I have exact accounts of every person of my family since the year 1555, when it was established in England, and am certain, that none of them but myself since that time was ever in Ireland. The name of Franklin is common among the English of the two nations, but there is a number of different families who bear it, and who have no relation to each other. It would be a pleasure to me to discover a

relation in Europe, possessing the amiable sentiments expressed in your letter. I assure you I should not disown the meanest. I should also be glad if I could give you a satisfactory account of your family; but I really know nothing of them. I have therefore not the honor of being related to them, but I have that of being, Madam, yours, &c.

To Thomas Pownall, dated Passy, 23 Nov., 1781.

I wish most heartily with you, that this cursed war was at an end; but I despair of seeing it finished in my time. Your thirsty nation has not yet drunk enough of our blood. I am authorized to treat of peace whenever she is disposed to it; but I saw inconveniences in meeting and discoursing with you on the subject, or with any one not avowed by your ministry; having already experienced such, in several instances. Mr. Hobart appeared not fully acquainted with your ideas, and, as he could not communicate them, I could make no judgment of them. My best wishes attend you, being with the old, long continued esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.

To John Adams, dated Passy, 26 Nov., 1781.

I sent forward last Saturday some packets and letters for you, which I hope got to hand in time. Most heartily do I congratulate you on the glorious news!* The infant Hercules in his cradle has now strangled his second serpent, and gives hopes that his future history will be answerable.

I enclose a packet, which I have just received from General Washington, and which I suppose contains the articles of capitulation. It is a rare circumstance, and scarce to be

* The capitulation of Lord Cornwallis's army.—ED.

met with in history, that in one war two armies should be taken prisoners completely, not a man in either escaping. It is another singular circumstance, that an expedition so complex, formed of armies of different nations, and of land and sea forces, should with such perfect concord be assembled from different places by land and water, form their junction punctually, without the least retard by cross accidents of wind or weather, or interruption from the enemy; and that the army, which was their object, should in the mean time have the goodness to quit a situation from whence it might have escaped, and place itself in another whence an escape was impossible.

General Greene has done wonders too in Carolina. I hear that a reinforcement was to be sent to him from the army in Virginia, and that there are hopes of his reducing Charleston. You have probably in the enclosed packet the account of his last great action. Count de Grasse sailed on the 30th with the fleet and part of the land forces. His destination is not mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

R. R. Livingston named Minister of Foreign Affairs—Lafayette's Reception in France—Robert Morris—The Fall of Silas Deane—Count de Ségur—Prince de Broglie—Fall of the North Ministry—British Intrigues in Holland—Peace, Competence, Friends, and Reputation—The Young Angel of Destruction—Insincerity of the British Ministry.

1782.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 15 Jan., 1782.

I RECEIVED a few days since your favor of the 2d instant, in which you tell me, that Mr. Alexander had informed you, "America was disposed to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain." I am persuaded, that your strong desire for peace has misled you, and occasioned your greatly misunderstanding Mr. Alexander; as I think it scarce possible, he should have asserted a thing *so utterly void of foundation.* I remember that you have, as you say, often urged this on former occasions, and that it always gave me more disgust than my friendship for you permitted me to express. But, since you have now gone so far as to carry such a proposition to Lord North, as arising from us, it is necessary that I should be explicit with you, and tell you plainly, that I never had such an idea; and I believe there is not a man in America, a few *English Tories* excepted, that would not spurn at the

thought of deserting a noble and generous friend, for the sake of a truce with an unjust and cruel enemy.

I have again read over your Conciliatory Bill, with the manuscript propositions that accompany it, and am concerned to find, that one cannot give vent to a simple wish for peace, a mere sentiment of humanity, without having it interpreted as *a disposition to submit to any base conditions* that may be offered us, rather than continue the war; for on no other supposition could you propose to us a truce of ten years, during which we are to engage not to assist France, while you continue the war with her. A truce, too, wherein nothing is to be mentioned that may weaken your pretensions to dominion over us, which you may therefore resume at the end of the term, or at pleasure; when we should have so covered ourselves with infamy, by our treachery to our first friend, as that no other nation can ever after be disposed to assist us, however cruelly you might think fit to treat us. Believe me, my dear friend, America has too much understanding, and is too sensible of the value of the world's good opinion, to forfeit it all by such perfidy. The Congress will never instruct their Commissioners to obtain a peace on such ignominious terms; and though there can be but few things in which I should venture to disobey their orders, yet, if it were possible for them to give me such an order as this, I should certainly refuse to act; I should instantly renounce their commission, and banish myself for ever from so infamous a country.

We are a little ambitious too of your esteem; and, as I think we have acquired some share of it by our manner of making war with you, I trust we shall not hazard the loss of it by consenting meanly to a dishonorable peace.

Lord North was wise in demanding of you some authorized

acknowledgment of the proposition from authorized persons. He justly thought it too improbable to be relied on, so as to lay it before the Privy Council. You can now inform him, that the whole has been a mistake, and that no such proposition as that of a separate peace has been, is, or is ever likely to be made by me; and I believe by no other authorized person whatever in behalf of America. You may further, if you please, inform his Lordship, that Mr. Adams, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Jay, and myself, have long since been empowered, by a special commission, to treat of peace whenever a negotiation shall be opened for that purpose; but it must always be understood, that this is to be in conjunction with our allies, conformably to the solemn treaties made with them.

You have, my dear friend, a strong desire to promote peace, and it is a most laudable and virtuous desire. Permit me then to wish, that you would, in order to succeed as a mediator, avoid such invidious expressions as may have an effect in preventing your purpose. You tell me, that no stipulation for our independence must be in the treaty, because you "verily believe, so deep is the jealousy between England and France, that England would fight for a straw, to the last man and the last shilling, rather than be *dictated to* by France." And again, that "the nation would proceed to every extremity, rather than be brought to a formal recognition of independence at the *haughty command* of France." My dear Sir, if every proposition of terms for peace, that may be made by one of the parties at war, is to be called and considered by the other as *dictating*, and a *haughty command*, and for that reason rejected, with a resolution of fighting to the last man rather than agree to it, you see that in such case no treaty of peace is possible.

In fact, we began the war for independence on your government, which we found tyrannical, and this before France had any thing to do with our affairs; the article in our treaty, whereby the "two parties engage, that neither of them shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and mutually engage, not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or *tacitly* assured, by the treaty or treaties, that shall terminate the war," was an article inserted at our instance, being in our favor. And you see, by the article itself, that your great difficulty may be easily got over, as a formal acknowledgment of our independence is not made necessary. But we hope by God's help to enjoy it; and I suppose we shall fight for it as long as we are able.

I do not make any remarks upon the other propositions, because I think, that, unless they were made by authority, the discussion of them is unnecessary, and may be inconvenient. The supposition of our being disposed to make a separate peace I could not be silent upon, as it materially affected our reputation and its essential interests. If I have been a little warm on that offensive point, reflect on your repeatedly urging it and endeavour to excuse me. Whatever may be the fate of our poor countries, let you and me die as we have lived, in peace with each other.

To John Jay, U.S. Minister at Madrid dated Passy, 19 Jan., 1782.

I am much surprised at the dilatory and reserved conduct of your court. I know not to what amount you have obtained aids from it; but, if they are not considerable, it were to be wished you had never been sent there, as the slight they have put upon our offered friendship is very disreputable to

us, and, of course, hurtful to our affairs elsewhere. I think they are shortsighted, and do not look very far into futurity, or they would seize with avidity so excellent an opportunity of securing a neighbour's friendship, which may hereafter be of great consequence to their American affairs.

If I were in Congress, I should advise your being instructed to thank them for past favors, and take your leave. As I am situated, I do not presume to give you such advice, nor could you take it, if I should. But I conceive there would be nothing amiss in your mentioning in a short memoir, the length of time elapsed since the date of the secret article, and since your arrival, to urge their determination upon it, and pressing them to give you an explicit, definitive, immediate answer, whether they would enter into treaty with us or not, and, in case of refusal, solicit your recall, that you may not continue from year to year, at a great expense, in a constant state of uncertainty with regard to so important a matter. I do not see how they can decently refuse such an answer. But their silence, after the demand made, should in my opinion be understood as a refusal, and we should act accordingly. I think I see a very good use that might be made of it, which I will not venture to explain in this letter.

Mr. Laurens, being now at liberty, perhaps may soon come here, and be ready to join us, if there should be any negotiations for peace. In England they are mad for a separate one with us, that they may more effectually take revenge on France and Spain. I have had several overtures hinted to me lately from different quarters, but I am deaf. The thing is impossible. We can never agree to desert our first and our faithful friend on any consideration whatever. We should become infamous by such abominable baseness.

To Robert R. Livingston,* dated Passy, 28 Jan., 1782.

I received, at the same time, your several letters of October 20th, 24th, and November 26th, which I purpose to answer fully by the return of the *Alliance*. Having just had a very short notice of the departure of this ship, I can only at present mention the great pleasure your appointment gives me, and my intention of corresponding with you regularly and frequently, as you desire. The information contained in your letters is full and clear; I shall endeavour that mine, of the state of affairs here, may be as satisfactory. With great esteem, &c.

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* Robert R. Livingston was appointed by Congress Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the fall of 1781. In his first official letter to Franklin, dated Oct. 20th, 1781, he said:

"Congress having lately thought it advisable to alter the arrangement of their great executive departments, and to dissolve the Boards and Committees under whose direction they formerly were, I am to inform you, that they have done me the honor to appoint me their Secretary of Foreign Affairs; in which capacity they have made it my duty, as it will always be my inclination, to maintain an intimate and regular correspondence with you. I have this day taken the oaths of office."

Mr. Livingston then goes on to give Franklin the news of the impending capture of Cornwallis and his army, and some other military intelligences. He continues:

"I need not tell you, Sir, how anxious I shall be to hear from you on every occasion. Nothing short of the most constant and regular information will satisfy Congress. We have much to learn, and few opportunities of acquiring information. Your situation not only enables you to let us know what passes with you, but to extend your inquiries to courts where we have no ministers, and of whose politics we would not choose to be ignorant, though they may but remotely concern us at present. For my own part, I freely confess that I rely much upon your knowledge and experience to supply my want of both.

"I propose to write so frequently to you as to keep you fully informed, not only of what is but of what is not done, since the last may sometimes be as important to you as the first.

"As far, Sir, as you may find a similar task consistent with your health, your leisure, and your various avocations you will render us essential service in imposing it upon yourself.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 16 Feb., 1782.

You have taken pains to rectify a mistake of mine, relating to the aim of your letters. I accept kindly your replication, and I hope you will excuse my error, when you reflect, that I knew of no consent given by France to our treating separately of peace, and that there have been mixed in some of your conversations and letters various reasonings, to show, that, if France should require something of us that was unreasonable, we then should not be obliged by our treaty to join

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"Congress having resolved that all communications with their ministers abroad shall pass through this office, you will do me the honor, Sir, to direct in future all your public letters to me."

Four days later Mr. Livingston wrote as follows to Franklin:

"Philadelphia, 24 October, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,

"Three days since, I did myself the honor to write to you, informing you of my appointment to the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs; and preparing you for the happy event which has taken place. Enclosed you have the capitulation of Yorktown and Gloucester, by which a British army of five thousand six hundred men was surrendered to the allied arms of France and America; and no inconsiderable fleet, with eight hundred seamen, to the navy of His Most Christian Majesty.

"Since my last, which was written the day after I entered upon office, I have seen yours of the 14th of May. There are many things in it which deserve the attention I mean to pay it, when the first hurry the intelligence I communicate occasions is over. But, Sir, there is a part which I cannot delay to take notice of, because I feel myself interested in opposing the resolution that you seem to have formed of quitting the station, which, for the honor of the United States, you now hold. I shall be impatient till I hear, that you comply with the wishes of Congress on this subject, as communicated long since. Though the new powers with which you are invested impose additional burdens upon you, yet, as they at once contain the amplest testimonials of the approbation of Congress, and directly lead to the completion of the great cause in which you so early engaged, I cannot but flatter myself that you will take it upon you. I sent with my first letter to you one to the Count de Vergennes, informing him of my appointment. You will do me the honor to present it. I am, Sir, &c.

"ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON."

with her in continuing the war. As there had never been such requisition, what could I think of such discourses? I thought, as I suppose an honest woman would think, if a gallant should entertain her with suppositions of cases, in which infidelity to her husband would be justifiable. Would not she naturally imagine, seeing no other foundation or motive for such conversation, that, if he could once get her to admit the general principle, his intended next step would be to persuade her, that such a case actually existed? Thus, knowing your dislike of France, and your strong desire of recovering America to England, I was impressed with the idea, that such an infidelity on our part would not be disagreeable to you; and that you were therefore aiming to lessen in my mind the horror I conceived at the idea of it. But we will finish here by mutually agreeing, that neither you were capable of proposing, nor I of acting on, such principles.

I cannot, however, forbear endeavouring to give a little possible utility to this letter, by saying something on your case of Dunkirk. You do not see, why two nations should be deemed natural enemies to each other. Nor do I, unless one or both of them are naturally mischievous and insolent. But I can see how enmities long continued, even during a peace, tend to shorten that peace, and to rekindle a war; and this is when either party, having an advantage in war, shall exact conditions in the treaty of peace, that are goading and constantly mortifying to the other. I take this to be the case of your "commissioner at Dunkirk." What would be your feelings, if France should take and hold possession of Portsmouth, or Spain of Plymouth, after a peace, as you formerly held Calais, and now hold Gibraltar? Or, on restoring your ports, should insist on having

an insolent commissioner stationed there, to forbid your placing one stone upon another by way of fortification? You would probably not be very easy under such a stipulation. If therefore you desire a peace, that may be *firm* and durable, think no more of such extravagant demands. It is not necessary to give my opinion further on that point, yet I may add frankly, as this is merely private conversation between you and me, that I do think a faithful ally, especially when under obligations for such great and generous assistance as we have received, should fight as long as he is able, to prevent, as far as his continuing to fight may prevent, his friends being compelled again to suffer such an insult.

My dear friend, the true pains you are taking to restore peace, whatever may be the success, entitle you to the esteem of all good men. If your ministers really desire peace methinks they would do well to empower some person to make propositions for that purpose. One or other of the parties at war must take the first step. To do this belongs properly to the wisest. America being a novice in such affairs, has no pretence to that character; and indeed after the answer given by Lord Stormont (when we proposed to him something relative to the mutual treatment of prisoners with humanity), *that "the King's ministers receive no applications from rebels, unless when they come to implore his Majesty's clemency,"* it cannot be expected, that we should hazard the exposing ourselves again to such insolence. All I can say further at present is, that in my opinion your enemies do not aim at your destruction, and that if you propose a treaty you will find them reasonable in their demands, provided that on your side they meet with the same good dispositions. But do not dream of dividing us; you will certainly never be able to effect it

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Passy, 4 March, 1782.

The Marquis de Lafayette was at his return hither received by all ranks with all possible distinction. He daily gains in the general esteem and affection, and promises to be a great man here. He is warmly attached to our cause; we are on the most friendly and confidential footing with each other, and he is really very serviceable to me in my applications for additional assistance.

I will endeavour to procure a sketch of an emblem for the purpose you mention. This puts me in mind of a medal I have had a mind to strike, since the late great event you gave me an account of, representing the United States by the figure of an infant Hercules in his cradle, strangling the two serpents; and France by that of Minerva, sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet, and her robe specked with a few *fleurs de lis.* The extinguishing of two entire armies in one war is what has rarely happened, and it gives a presage of the future force of our growing empire.*

The friendly disposition of this court towards us continues. We have sometimes pressed a little too hard, expecting and demanding, perhaps, more than we ought, and have used improper arguments, which may have occasioned a little dissatisfaction; but it has not been lasting.

* This medal was subsequently executed, under the direction of Dr. Franklin, with some variation in the device. On one side is an infant in his cradle strangling two serpents. Minerva, as the emblem of France, with her spear, helmet, and shield, is engaged in a contest with the British lion. The motto is, NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS; under which are the dates of the two victories at Saratoga and Yorktown, "17 Oct. 1777," and "19 Oct. 1781." On the other side of the medal is a head of Liberty; in the exergue, LIBERTAS AMERICANA, and the date of American independence, "4 Jul. 1776."—S.

In my opinion, the surest way to obtain liberal aid from others is vigorously to help ourselves. People fear assisting the negligent, the indolent, and the careless, lest the aids they afford should be lost. I know we have done a great deal; but it is said, we are apt to be supine after a little success, and too backward in furnishing our contingents. This is really a generous nation, fond of glory, and particularly that of protecting the oppressed. Trade is not the admiration of their noblesse, who always govern here. Telling them, their *commerce* will be advantaged by our success, and that it is their *interest* to help us, seems as much as to say, "Help us, and we shall not be obliged to you." Such indiscreet and improper language has been sometimes held here by some of our people, and produced no good effects.

The constant harmony, subsisting between the armies of the two nations in America, is a circumstance, that has afforded me infinite pleasure. It should be carefully cultivated. I hope nothing will happen to disturb it. The French officers, who have returned to France this winter, speak of our people in the handsomest and kindest manner; and there is a strong desire in many of the young noblemen to go over to fight for us; there is no restraining some of them; and several changes among the officers of their army have lately taken place in consequence.

You must be so sensible of the utility of maintaining a perfect good understanding with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, that I need say nothing on that head. The affairs of a distant people in any court of Europe will always be much affected by the representations of the minister of that court residing among them.

Generals Cornwallis and Arnold are both arrived in

England. It is reported, that the former, in all his conversations, discourages the prosecution of the war in America; if so, he will of course be out of favor. We hear much of audiences given to the latter, and of his being present at councils.

You desire to know, whether any intercepted letters of Mr. Deane have been published in Europe? I have seen but one in the English papers, that to Mr. Wadsworth, and none in any of the French and Dutch papers, but some may have been printed that have not fallen in my way. There is no doubt of their being all genuine. His conversation, since his return from America, has, as I have been informed, gone gradually more and more into that style, and at length come to an open vindication of Arnold's conduct; and, within these few days, he has sent me a letter of twenty full pages, recapitulating those letters, and threatening to write and publish an account of the treatment he has received from Congress, &c. He resides at Ghent, is distressed both in mind and circumstances, raves and writes abundance, and I imagine it will end in his going over to join his friend Arnold in England. I had an exceeding good opinion of him when he acted with me, and I believe he was then sincere and hearty in our cause. But he is changed, and his character ruined in his own country and in this, so that I see no other but England to which he can now retire. He says, that we owe him about twelve thousand pounds sterling; and his great complaint is, that we do not settle his accounts and pay him. Mr. Johnston having declined the service, I proposed engaging Mr. Searle to undertake it; but Mr. Deane objected to him, as being his enemy. In my opinion he was, for that reason, even fitter for the service of Mr. Deane; since accounts are of a mathematical

nature, and cannot be changed by an enemy, while that enemy's testimony, that he had found them well supported by authentic vouchers, would have weighed more than the same testimony from a friend.

With regard to negotiations for a peace, I see but little probability of their being entered upon seriously this year, unless the English minister has failed in raising his funds, which it is said he has secured; so that we must provide for another campaign, in which I hope God will continue to favor us, and humble our cruel and haughty enemies; a circumstance which, whatever Mr. Deane may say to the contrary, will give pleasure to all Europe.

This year opens well, by the reduction of Port Mahon, and the garrison prisoners of war, and we are not without hopes, that Gibraltar may soon follow. A few more signal successes in America will do much towards reducing our enemies to reason. Your expressions of good opinion with regard to me, and wishes of my continuance in this employment, are very obliging. As long as the Congress think I can be useful to our affairs, it is my duty to obey their orders; but I should be happy to see them better executed by another, and myself at liberty, enjoying, before I quit the stage of life, some small degree of leisure and tranquillity.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 31 March, 1782. I have just received your favors of March the 11th and 12th, forwarded to me by Mr. Digges, and another of the 21st per post. I congratulate you on the returning good disposition of your nation towards America, which appears in the resolutions of Parliament, that you have sent me; and I hope the change of your ministry will be attended with salutary

effects. I continue in the same sentiments expressed in my former letters; but, as I am but one of five in the commission, and have no knowledge of the sentiments of the others, what has passed between us is to be considered merely as private conversation. The five persons are Messrs. Adams, Jay, Laurens, Jefferson, and myself; and, in case of the death or absence of any, the remainder have power to act or conclude. I have not written to Mr. Laurens, having constantly expected him here, but shall write to him next post; when I shall also write more fully to you.

To George Washington, dated Passy, 2 April, 1782.

I received duly the honor of your letter, accompanying the capitulation of General Cornwallis. All the world agree, that no expedition was ever better planned or better executed; it has made a great addition to the military reputation you had already acquired, and brightens the glory that surrounds your name, and that must accompany it to our latest posterity. No news could possibly make me more happy. The infant Hercules has now strangled the two serpents* that attacked him in his cradle, and I trust his future history will be answerable.

This will be presented to you by the Count de Ségur. He is son of the Marquis de Ségur, minister of war, and our very good friend; but I need not claim your regards to the young gentleman on that score; his amiable personal qualities, his very sensible conversation, and his zeal for the cause of liberty, will obtain and secure your esteem, and be better recommendation than any I can give him.

The English seem not to know either how to continue

* Burgoyne and Cornwallis, with their armies.—ED.

the war, or to make peace with us. Instead of entering into a regular treaty for putting an end to a contest they are tired of, they have voted in Parliament, that the recovery of America by force is impracticable, that an offensive war against us ought not to be continued, and that whoever advises it shall be deemed an enemy to his country.

Thus the garrisons of New York and Charleston, if continued there, must sit still, being only allowed to defend themselves. The ministry, not understanding or approving this making of peace by halves, have quitted their places; but we have no certain account here who is to succeed them, so that the measures likely to be taken are yet uncertain; probably we shall know something of them before the Marquis de Lafayette takes his departure. There are grounds for good hopes, however; but I think we should not therefore relax in our preparations for a vigorous campaign, as that nation is subject to sudden fluctuations; and, though somewhat humiliated at present, a little success in the West Indies may dissipate their present fears, recall their natural insolence, and occasion the interruption of negotiation, and a continuance of the war. We have great stores purchased here for the use of your army, which will be sent as soon as transports can be procured for them to go under good convoy.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 5 April, 1782.

You justly observe, in yours of the 12th, that the first object is, to procure a "meeting of qualified and authorized persons," and that you understand the ministry will be ready to proceed towards opening a negotiation as soon as the bill shall pass, and therefore it is necessary to consult time and place, and

manner and persons, on each side. This you wrote while the old ministry existed. If the new have the same intentions, and desire a general peace, they may easily discharge Mr. Laurens from those engagements, which make his acting in the commission improper; and, except Mr. Jefferson, who remains in America, and is not expected here, we, the Commissioners of Congress, can easily be got together ready to meet yours, at such place as shall be agreed to by the powers at war, in order to form the treaty. God grant that there may be wisdom enough assembled to make, if possible, a peace that shall be perpetual, and that the idea of any nations being natural enemies to each other may be abolished for the honor of human nature.

With regard to those, who may be commissioned from your government, whatever personal preferences I may conceive in my own mind, it cannot become me to express them. I only wish for wise and honest men. With such, a peace may be speedily concluded. With contentious wranglers, the negotiation may be drawn into length, and finally frustrated.

I am pleased to see, in the votes and Parliamentary speeches, and in your public papers, that, in mentioning America, the word *reconciliation* is often used. It certainly means more than a mere peace. It is a sweet expression. Revolve in your mind, my dear friend, the means of bringing about this *reconciliation*. When you consider the injustice of your war with us, and the barbarous manner in which it has been carried on, the many suffering families among us from your burning of towns, scalping by savages, &c. &c., will it not appear to you, that though a cessation of the war may be a peace, it may not be a reconciliation? Will not some voluntary acts of justice, and even of kind-

ness on your part, have excellent effects towards producing such a *reconciliation?* Can you not find means of repairing in some degree those injuries? You have in England and Ireland twelve hundred of our people prisoners, who have for years bravely suffered all the hardships of that confinement, rather than enter into your service, to fight against their country. Methinks you ought to glory in descendants of such virtue. What if you were to begin your measures of *reconciliation* by setting them at liberty? I know it would procure for you the liberty of an equal number of your people, even without a previous stipulation; and the confidence in our equity, with the apparent good will in the action, would give very good impressions of your change of disposition towards us. Perhaps you have no knowledge of the opinions lately conceived of your King and country, in America; the enclosed copy of a letter will make you a little acquainted with them, and convince you how impossible must be every project of bringing us again under the dominion of such a sovereign.

To George Washington, dated Passy, 8 April, 1782.

I did myself the honor of writing to you a few days since by the Count de Ségur. This line is chiefly to present the Prince de Broglie to your Excellency, who goes over to join the army of M. de Rochambeau. He bears an excellent character here, is a hearty friend to our cause, and I am persuaded you will have a pleasure in his conversation. I take leave, therefore, to recommend him to those civilities, which you are always happy in showing to strangers of merit and distinction.

I have heretofore congratulated your Excellency on your victories over our enemy's generals; I can now do the same

on your having overthrown their politicians. Your late successes have so strengthened the hands of opposition in Parliament, that they are become the majority, and have compelled the King to dismiss all his old ministers and their adherents. The unclean spirits he was possessed with are now cast out of him; but it is imagined, that, as soon as he has obtained a peace, they will return with others worse than themselves, *and the last state of that man*, as the Scripture says, *shall be worse than the first.*

As soon as we can learn any thing certain of the projects of the new ministry, I shall take the first opportunity of communicating them.

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Passy, 12 April, 1782.

Being at court on Tuesday, I learned from the Dutch minister, that the new English ministry have offered, through the ministers of Russia, a cessation of arms to Holland, and a renewal of the treaty of 1674. M. de Berkenrode seemed to be of the opinion, that the offer was intended to gain time, to obstruct the concert of operations with France for the ensuing campaign, and to prevent the conclusion of a treaty with America. It is apprehended, that it may have some effect in strengthening the hands of the English party in that country, and retard affairs a little; but it is hoped, that the proposal will not be finally agreed to. It would indeed render the Dutch ridiculous. A, having a cane in his hand, meets his neighbour B, who happens to have none, takes the advantage, and gives him a sound drubbing. B, having found a stick, and coming to return the blows he received, A says, "My old friend, why should we quarrel? We are neighbours; let us be good ones, and live peaceably by each other, as we used to do." If B is so easily satisfied,

and lays aside his stick, the rest of the neighbours, as well as A, will laugh at him. This is the light in which I stated it. Enclosed I send you a copy of the proposition.

I see by the newspapers, that the Spaniards, having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country. In what light does this proceeding appear to Congress? While they decline our offered friendship, are they to be suffered to encroach on our bounds, and shut us up within the Appalachian mountains? I begin to fear they have some such project.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 13 April, 1782.

I received your kind letter of the 23d of December. I rejoice always to hear of your and your good mother's welfare, though I can write but seldom, and safe opportunities are scarce. Looking over some old papers, I find the rough draft of a letter, which I wrote to you fifteen months ago, and which probably miscarried, or your answer miscarried, as I never received any. I enclose it, as the spring is coming on, and the same proposition will now again be in season, and easily executed, if you should approve of it.

You mention Mr. Viny's being with you. What is his present situation? I think he might do well with his wheel business in this country. By your newspapers, Jacob seems to have taken it to himself. Could he not make up a good coach, with the latest useful improvements, and bring you all in it? It would serve here as a specimen of his abilities, if he chose to stay, or would sell well, if he chose to return. I hope your mother has got over her lowness of spirits about the dropsy. It is common for aged people to have at times swelled ankles towards evening; but it is a temporary dis-

order, which goes off of itself, and has no consequences. My tender love to her.

If you have an opportunity of sending to Geneva, I like well enough your sending the books thither for my godson grandson, who goes on well there. You do well to keep my granddaughter without stays. God bless her and all of you.

You may imagine I begin to grow happy in my prospects. I should be quite so, if I could see peace and good will restored between our countries; for I enjoy health, competence, friends, and reputation. Peace is the only ingredient wanting to my felicity.*

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* This was no doubt a modest statement of his position. There probably never was a foreigner in France who was so much admired, quoted, and flattered as Dr. Franklin. Four years before (July 2, 1778), a contemporary wrote to his royal correspondent from Versailles:†

"I do not often speak of Mr. Franklin, because the gazettes tell you enough of him. However, I will say to you that our Parisians are no more sensible in their attentions to him than they were towards Voltaire, of whom they have not spoken since the day following his death. Mr. Franklin is besieged, followed, admired, adored, wherever he shows himself, with a fury, a fanaticism, capable no doubt of flattering him and of doing him honor, but which at the same time proves that we shall never be reasonable, and that the virtues and better qualities of our nation will always be balanced by a levity, an inconsequence, and an enthusiasm too excessive to be durable."

The enthusiasm here described increased rather than diminished during the remainder of his sojourn in France, though he did not always escape the shafts of jealousy and malice. The same correspondent, writing in July, 1781, said:

"The King seems greatly discontented with the Americans, and the diplomatic doctor is received here very coldly. Some one said the other day that he lacked a letter to his name; that he should not be called Franklin but Franc-câlin." Câlin signifies a wheedler or cajoler.

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† Correspondance secrète inédite sur Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, la Cour et la Ville de 1777 à 1792: publiée par M. de Lescure-Plon, Paris, 1866.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 13 April, 1782.

Since mine of the 5th, I have thought further of the subject of our late letters. You were of opinion, that the late ministry desired *sincerely* a reconciliation with America, and with that view a separate peace with us was proposed. It happened, that, at the same time, Lord North had an emissary here to sound the French ministers with regard to peace, and to make them very advantageous propositions, in case they would abandon America. You may judge from hence, my dear friend, what opinion I must have formed of the intentions of your ministers. To convince you of the truth of this, I may acquaint you, that the emissary was a Mr. Forth;* and that the answer given him to carry back to the English ministers, was, "*that the King of France is as desirous of peace as the King of England; and that he would accede to it as soon as he could with dignity and safety; but it is a matter of the last importance for His Most Christian Majesty to know, whether the court of London is disposed to treat on equal terms with the allies of France.*"

Mr. Forth went off with this answer for London, but probably did not arrive till after the dismission of the ministers that sent him. You may make any use of this information, which you judge proper. The new ministry may see by it the principles that govern this court; and it will

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In London he was of course a target for the *Mauvais Plaisants*. They had an engraving of him there under which were written the following lines:

"Rénégat de son culte, infidèle à son Roi,
Sous cape il se moqua du ciel et de la loi,
Vergenne et Maurepas crurent à ses sornettes,
Et le doyen des charlatans
Trompa les bons avec ses cheveux blancs,
Et les sots avec ses lunettes."—ED.

* Formerly Secretary of Legation to Lord Stormont.—ED.

convince them, I hope, that the project of dividing us is as vain, as it would be to us injurious.

To John Jay, dated Passy, 22 April, 1782.

I have undertaken to pay all the bills of your acceptance that have come to my knowledge, and I hope in God no more will be drawn upon us, but when funds are first provided. In that case, your constant residence at Madrid is no longer so necessary. You may make a journey either for health or pleasure, without retarding the progress of a negotiation not yet begun. Here you are greatly wanted, for messengers begin to come and go, and there is much talk of a treaty proposed; but I can neither make, nor agree to propositions of peace, without the assistance of my colleagues. Mr. Adams, I am afraid, cannot just now leave Holland. Mr. Jefferson is not in Europe, and Mr. Laurens is a prisoner, though abroad upon parole. I wish, therefore, that you would resolve upon the journey, and render yourself here as soon as possible. You would be of infinite service. Spain has taken four years to consider whether she should treat with us or not. Give her forty, and let us in the mean time mind our own business. I have much to communicate to you, but choose rather to do it *vivâ voce*, than trust it to letters.

To a Friend, dated Passy, 8 May, 1782.

I received the letter you did me the honor of writing me, and am much obliged by your kind present of a book. The relish for reading poetry had long since left me; but there is something so new in the manner, so easy, and yet so correct in the language, so clear in the expression, yet concise, and so just in the sentiments, that I have read the whole with great pleasure, and some of the pieces more than once. I beg

you to accept my thankful acknowledgments, and to present my respects to the author.

I shall take care to forward the letters to America, and shall be glad of any other opportunity of doing what may be agreeable to you, being, with great respect for your character, your most obedient humble servant.*

To Joseph Priestley, dated Passy, 7 June, 1782.

I have always great pleasure in hearing from you, in learning that you are well, and that you continue your experiments. I should rejoice much, if I could once more recover the leisure to search with you into the works of nature; I mean the *inanimate*, not the *animate* or moral part of them; the more I discovered of the former, the more I admired them; the more I know of the latter, the more I am disgusted with them. Men I find to be a sort of beings very badly constructed, as they are generally more easily provoked than reconciled, more disposed to do mischief to each other than to make reparation, much more easily deceived than undeceived, and having more pride and even pleasure in kill-

* Cowper seems to have been much gratified with the compliment contained in this letter, which was communicated to him by the person to whom it had been written. Cowper forwarded a copy of it to Mr. Unwin, and said, "A merchant, a friend of ours, sent my Poems to one of the first philosophers, one of the most eminent literary characters, as well as one of the most important in the political world, that the present age can boast of. Now perhaps your conjecturing faculties are puzzled, and you begin to ask, 'Who, where, and what is he? Speak out, for I am all impatience.' I will not say a word more; the letter in which he returned his thanks shall speak for me."

He then inserts the letter, and adds, "We may now treat the critics as the Archbishop of Toledo treated Gil Blas, when he found fault with one of his sermons. His Grace gave him a kick, and said, 'Begone for a jackanapes, and furnish yourself with a better taste, if you know where to find it.'"—SOUTHEY'S edition of *Cowper's Works*, Vol. IV. p. 217.—S.

ing than in begetting one another; for without a blush they assemble in great armies at noonday to destroy, and when they have killed as many as they can, they exaggerate the number to augment the fancied glory; but they creep into corners, or cover themselves with the darkness of night, when they mean to beget, as being ashamed of a virtuous action. A virtuous action it would be, and a vicious one the killing of them, if the species were really worth producing or preserving; but of this I begin to doubt.

I know you have no such doubts, because, in your zeal for their welfare, you are taking a great deal of pains to save their souls. Perhaps as you grow older, you may look upon this as a hopeless project, or an idle amusement, repent of having murdered in mephitic air so many honest, harmless mice, and wish, that, to prevent mischief, you had used boys and girls instead of them. In what light we are viewed by superior beings, may be gathered from a piece of late West India news, which possibly has not yet reached you. A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world on some business, for the first time, had an old courier-spirit assigned him as a guide. They arrived over the seas of Martinico, in the middle of the long day of obstinate fight between the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse. When, through the clouds of smoke, he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs, and bodies dead or dying; the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air; and the quantity of pain, misery, and destruction, the crews yet alive were thus with so much eagerness dealing round to one another; he turned angrily to his guide, and said, "You blundering blockhead, you are ignorant of your business; you undertook to conduct me to the earth, and

you have brought me into hell!" "No, Sir," says the guide, "I have made no mistake; this is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner; they have more sense, and more of what men (vainly) call humanity."

But to be serious, my dear old friend, I love you as much as ever, and I love all the honest souls that meet at the London Coffee-House. I only wonder how it happened, that they and my other friends in England came to be such good creatures in the midst of so perverse a generation. I long to see them and you once more, and I labor for peace with more earnestness, that I may again be happy in your sweet society.

I showed your letter to the Duke de Larochefoucauld, who thinks with me, that the new experiments you have made are extremely curious; and he has given me thereupon a note, which I enclose, and I request you would furnish me with the answer desired.

Yesterday the Count du Nord* was at the Academy of Sciences, when sundry experiments were exhibited for his entertainment; among them, one by M. Lavoisier, to show that the strongest fire we yet know, is made in a charcoal blown upon with dephlogisticated air. In a heat so produced, he melted platina presently, the fire being much more powerful than that of the strongest burning mirror.

To Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, dated Passy, 10 June, 1782.

After so long a silence, and the long continuance of its unfortunate causes, a line from you was a prognostic of happier times approaching, when we may converse and communicate freely, without danger from the

* Afterwards Emperor Paul the First of Russia.—ED.

malevolence of men enraged by the ill success of their distracted projects.

I long with you for the return of peace, on the general principles of humanity. The hope of being able to pass a few more of my last days happily in the sweet conversations and company I once enjoyed at Twyford, is a particular motive that adds strength to the general wish, and quickens my industry to procure that best of blessings. After much occasion to consider the folly and mischiefs of a state of warfare, and the little or no advantage obtained even by those nations, who have conducted it with the most success, I have been apt to think, that there has never been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a *good* war, or a *bad* peace.

You ask if I still relish my old studies. I relish them, but I cannot pursue them. My time is engrossed unhappily with other concerns. I requested of the Congress last year my discharge from this public station, that I might enjoy a little leisure in the evening of a long life of business; but it was refused me, and I have been obliged to drudge on a little longer.

You are happy as your years come on, in having that dear and most amiable family about you. Four daughters! how rich! I have but one, and she, necessarily detained from me at a thousand leagues distance. I feel the want of that tender care of me, which might be expected from a daughter, and would give the world for one. Your shades are all placed in a row over my fireplace, so that I not only have you always in my mind, but constantly before my eyes.

The cause of liberty and America has been greatly obliged to you. I hope you will live long to see that country

flourish under its new constitution, which I am sure will give you great pleasure. Will you permit me to express another hope, that, now your friends are in power, they will take the first opportunity of showing the sense they ought to have of your virtues and your merit?

Please to make my best respects acceptable to Mrs. Shipley, and embrace for me tenderly all our dear children.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 13 June, 1782.

You cannot be more pleased in talking about your children, your methods of instructing them, and the progress they make, than I am in hearing it, and in finding, that, instead of following the idle amusements, which both your fortune and the custom of the age might have led you into, your delight and your duty go together, by employing your time in the education of your offspring. This is following nature and reason, instead of fashion; than which nothing is more becoming the character of a woman of sense and virtue.

We have here a female writer on education, who has lately published three volumes, that are much talked of. I will send them to you by the first opportunity. They are much praised and much censured. The author, Madame la Comtesse de Genlis, is made, in consequence of her writing that work, governess of the children of the Duc de Chartres, who is son of the Duke of Orleans. Perhaps you may not find much in it, that can be of use to you, but you may find something.

I enclose another piece on the same subject, written by another Comtesse, Madame de Forbach, who does me the honor of calling me her friend, by which means I have a copy, it not being published. When you have leisure, I shall like to see your remarks.

Do not send any books to Geneva. The troubles of that city have driven the school and my boy out of it, and I have thoughts of sending for him home. Perhaps I may put him for a while under your care, to recover his English in the same school with your sons.

To Richard Price, dated Passy, 13 June, 1782.

The ancient Roman and Greek orators could only speak to the number of citizens capable of being assembled within the reach of their voice. Their writings had little effect, because the bulk of the people could not read. Now by the press we can speak to nations; and good books and well written pamphlets have great and general influence. The facility, with which the same truths may be repeatedly enforced by placing them daily in different lights in newspapers, which are everywhere read, gives a great chance of establishing them. And we now find, that it is not only right to strike while the iron is hot, but that it may be very practicable to heat it by continually striking.

To Miss Alexander, dated Passy, 24 June, 1782.

— I am not at all displeased, that the thesis and dedication, with which we were threatened, are blown over, for I dislike much all sorts of mummery. The republic of letters has gained no reputation, whatever else it may have gained, by the commerce of dedications; I never made one, and I never desired, that one should be made to me. When I submitted to receive this, it was from the bad habit I have long had of doing everything that ladies desire me to do; there is no refusing any thing to Madame la Marck, nor to you. I have been to pay my respects to that amiable lady, not merely because it was a compliment due to her, but because

I love her; which induces me to excuse her not letting me in; the same reason I should have for excusing your faults, if you had any.

I have not seen your papa since the receipt of your pleasing letter, so could arrange nothing with him respecting the carriage. During seven or eight days, I shall be very busy; after that you shall hear from me, and the carriage shall be at your service. How could you think of writing to me about chimneys and fires, in such weather as this! Now is the time for the frugal lady you mention to save her wood, obtain *plus de chaleur*, and lay it up against winter, as people do ice against summer. Frugality is an enriching virtue; a virtue I never could acquire in myself; but I was once lucky enough to find it in a wife, who thereby became a fortune to me. Do you possess it? If you do, and I were twenty years younger, I would give your father one thousand guineas for you. I know you would be worth more to me as a *ménagère*, but I am covetous, and love good bargains.

CHAPTER III.

JOURNAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, FROM MARCH 21 TO JULY 1, 1782.

Passy, 9 May, 1782.

As since the change of the ministry in England some serious professions have been made of their dispositions to peace, and of their readiness to enter into a general treaty for that purpose; and as the concerns and claims of five nations are to be discussed in that treaty, which must therefore be interesting to the present age and to posterity, I am inclined to keep a journal of the proceedings as far as they come to my knowledge; and, to make it more complete, I will first endeavour to recollect what has already past. Great affairs sometimes take their rise from small circumstances. My good friend and neighbour Madame Brillon, being at Nice all last winter for her health, with her very amiable family, wrote to me, that she had met with some English gentry there, whose acquaintance proved agreeable. Among them she named Lord Cholmondely, who she said had promised to call, in his return to England, and drink tea with us at Passy. He left Nice sooner than she supposed, and came to Paris long before her. On the 21st March I received the following note.

"Lord Cholmondely's compliments to Dr. Franklin; he sets out for London to-morrow evening, and should be glad to see him for five minutes before he went. Lord Cholmondely will call upon him at any time in the morning he shall please to appoint.

"*Thursday evening. Hôtel de Chartres.*"

I wrote for answer, that I should be at home all the next morning, and glad to see his Lordship, if he did me the honor of calling on me. He came accordingly. I had before no personal knowledge of this nobleman. We talked of our friends whom he left at Nice, then of affairs in England, and the late resolutions of the Commons on Mr. Conway's motion. He told me, that he knew Lord Shelburne had a great regard for me, that he was sure his Lordship would be pleased to hear from me, and that if I would write a line he should have a pleasure in carrying it. On which I wrote the following.

TO LORD SHELBURNE.

"Passy, 22 March, 1782.

"My Lord,

"Lord Cholmondely having kindly offered to take a letter from me to your Lordship, I embrace the opportunity of assuring the continuance of my ancient respect for your talents and virtues, and of congratulating you on the returning good disposition of your country in favor of America, which appears in the late resolutions of the Commons. I am persuaded it will have good effects. I hope it will tend to produce a *general peace*, which I am sure your Lordship, with all good men, desires, which I wish to see before I die, and to which I shall, with infinite pleasure, contribute every thing in my power.

"Your friends, the Abbé Morellet and Madame Helvétius, are well. You have made the latter very happy by your present of gooseberry bushes, which arrived in five days, and in excellent order. With great and sincere esteem, I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Soon after this we heard from England, that a total change had taken place in the ministry, and that Lord Shelburne had come in as Secretary of State. But I thought no more of my letter, till an old friend and near neighbour of mine many years in London appeared at Passy, and introduced a Mr. Oswald, who, he said, had a great desire to see me; and Mr. Oswald, after some little conversation, gave me the following letters from Lord Shelburne and Mr. Laurens.

FROM LORD SHELBURNE TO B. FRANKLIN.

"London, 6 April, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have been favored with your letter and am much obliged by your remembrance. I find myself returned nearly to the same situation, which you remember me to have occupied nineteen years ago; and I should be very glad to talk to you as I did then, and afterwards, in 1767, upon the means of promoting the happiness of mankind, a subject much more agreeable to my nature, than the best concerted plans for spreading misery and devastation. I have had a high opinion of the compass of your mind, and of your foresight. I have often been beholden to both, and shall be glad to be so again, as far as is compatible with your situation. Your letter, discovering the same disposition, has made me send to you Mr. Oswald. I have

had a longer acquaintance with him, than even I have had the pleasure to have with you. I believe him an honest man, and, after consulting some of our common friends, I have thought him the fittest for the purpose. He is a pacifical man, and conversant in those negotiations, which are most interesting to mankind. This has made me prefer him to any of our speculative friends, or to any person of higher rank. He is fully apprized of my mind, and you may give full credit to every thing he assures you of. At the same time, if any other channel occurs to you, I am ready to embrace it. I wish to retain the same simplicity and good faith, which subsisted between us in transactions of less importance. I have the honor to be, &c.

"SHELBURNE."

FROM HENRY LAURENS TO B. FRANKLIN.

"London, 7 April, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

"Richard Oswald, Esquire, who will do me the honor of delivering this, is a gentleman of the strictest candor and integrity. I dare give such assurances from an experience little short of thirty years, and to add, you will be perfectly safe in conversing freely with him on the business he will introduce, a business, which Mr. Oswald has disinterestedly engaged in, from motives of benevolence; and from the choice of the man a persuasion follows, that the electors mean to be in earnest.

"Some people in this country, who have too long indulged themselves in abusing every thing American, have been pleased to circulate an opinion, that Dr. Franklin is a very cunning man; in answer to which, I have remarked to Mr. Oswald, 'Dr. Franklin knows very well how to manage a cunning man; but, when the Doctor converses or treats with a man of candor, there is no man more candid than

himself.' I do not know whether you will ultimately agree on political sketches; but I am sure, as gentlemen, you will part very well pleased with each other. Should you, Sir, think proper to communicate to me your sentiments and advice on our affairs, the more amply the more acceptable, and probably the more serviceable; Mr. Oswald will take charge of your despatches, and afford a secure means of conveyance.

"To this gentleman I refer you for general information of a journey, which I am immediately to make, partly in his company, to Ostend, to file off for the Hague. I feel a willingness, infirm as I am, to attempt doing as much good as can be expected from such a prisoner upon parole. As General Burgoyne is certainly exchanged, (a circumstance, by the by, which possibly might have embarrassed us, had your late propositions been accepted,) may I presume at my return to offer another lieutenant-general, now in England, a prisoner upon parole, in exchange; or what shall I offer in exchange for myself, a thing in my own estimation of no great value? I have the honor to be, with great respect, and, permit me to add, great reverence, Sir, &c:

"HENRY LAURENS."

I entered into conversation with Mr. Oswald. He was represented in the letter as fully apprized of Lord Shelburne's mind, and I was desirous of knowing it. All I could learn was, that the new ministry sincerely wished for a peace; that they considered the object of the war, to France and America, as obtained; that, if the independence of the United States was agreed to, there was no other point in dispute, and therefore nothing to hinder a pacification; that they were ready to treat of *peace*, but he intimated, that, if France should insist upon terms too humiliating to England, they could still continue the war, having yet

great strength and many resources left. I let him know, that America would not treat but in concert with France, and that, my colleagues not being here, I could do nothing of importance in the affair; but that, if he pleased, I would present him to M. de Vergennes, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He consenting, I wrote and sent the following letter.

TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

"Passy, 16 April, 1782.

"SIR,

"An English nobleman, Lord Cholmondely, lately returning from Italy, called upon me here, at the time when we received the news of the first resolutions of the House of Commons relating to America. In conversation he said, that he knew his friend, Lord Shelburne, had a great regard for me, that it would be pleasing to him to hear of my welfare, and receive a line from me, of which he, Lord Cholmondely, should like to be the bearer, adding, if there should be a change of ministry, he believed Lord Shelburne would be employed. I thereupon wrote a few lines, of which I enclose a copy. This day I received an answer, which I also enclose, together with another letter from Mr. Laurens. They both, as your Excellency will see, recommend the bearer, Mr. Oswald, as a very honest, sensible man. I have had a little conversation with him. He tells me, that there has been a desire of making a separate peace with America, and continuing the war with France and Spain, but that now all wise people give up that idea as impracticable; and it is his private opinion, that the ministry do sincerely desire a *general peace*, and that they will readily come into it, provided France does not insist upon conditions too humiliating for England, in which case she

will make great and violent efforts, rather than submit to them, and that much is still in her power, &c.

"I told the gentleman, that I could not enter into particulars with him, but in concert with the ministers of this court. And I proposed introducing him to your Excellency, after communicating to you the letters he brought me, in case you should think fit to see him, with which he appeared to be pleased. I intend waiting on you to-morrow, when you will please to acquaint me with your intentions, and favor me with your counsels. He had heard nothing of Forth's mission, and the old ministry had not acquainted the new with that transaction. Mr. Laurens came over with him in the same vessel, and went from Ostend to Holland. With great respect, I am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

The next day, being at court with the foreign ministers, as usual on Tuesdays, I saw M. de Vergennes, who acquainted me, that he had caused the letters to be translated, had considered the contents, and should like to see Mr. Oswald. We agreed that the interview should be on Wednesday at ten o'clock. Immediately on my return home, I wrote to Mr. Oswald, acquainting him with what had passed at Versailles, and proposing that he should be with me at half past eight the next morning, in order to proceed thither. I received from him the following answer.

"Paris, 17 April.

"SIR,

"I have the honor of yours by the bearer, and shall be sure to wait on you to-morrow, at half past eight, and am, with much respect, &c.

"RICHARD OSWALD."

He came accordingly, and we arrived at Versailles punctually. M. de Vergennes received him with much civility. Mr. Oswald not being ready in speaking French, M. de Rayneval interpreted. Mr. Oswald at first thought of sending an express, with the account of the conversation, which continued near an hour, and was offered a passport, but finally concluded to go himself; and I wrote the next day the letter following.

TO LORD SHELBURNE.

"Passy, 18 April, 1782.

"My Lord,

"I have received the letter your Lordship did me the honor of writing to me on the 6th instant. I congratulate you on your new appointment to the honorable and important office you formerly filled so worthily, which must be so far pleasing to you, as it affords you more opportunities of doing good, and of serving your country essentially in its great concerns.

"I have conversed a good deal with Mr. Oswald, and am much pleased with him. He appears to me a wise and honest man. I acquainted him, that I was commissioned, with others, to treat of and conclude a peace. That full powers were given us for that purpose, and that the Congress promised in good faith to ratify, confirm, and cause to be faithfully observed, the treaty we should make; but that we would not treat separately from France, and I proposed introducing him to the Count de Vergennes, to whom I communicated your Lordship's letter containing Mr. Oswald's character, as a foundation for the interviews. He will acquaint you, that the assurance he gave of His Britannic Majesty's good dispositions towards peace was well

received, and assurances returned of the same good dispositions in His Most Christian Majesty.

"With regard to circumstances relative to a treaty, M. de Vergennes observed, that the King's engagements were such, that he could not treat without the concurrence of his allies; that the treaty should, therefore, be for a general, not a partial peace; that, if the parties were disposed to finish the war speedily by themselves, it would perhaps be best to treat at Paris, as an ambassador from Spain was already there, and the Commissioners from America might easily and soon be assembled there. Or, if they chose to make use of the proposed mediation, they might treat at Vienna; but that the King was so truly willing to put a speedy end to the war, that he would agree to any place the King of England should think proper.

"I leave the rest of the conversation to be related to your Lordship by Mr. Oswald; and, that he might do it more easily and fully, than he could by letter, I was of opinion with him, that it would be best he should return immediately and do it *vivâ voce*. Being myself but one of the four persons now in Europe, commissioned by the Congress to treat of peace, I can make no propositions of much importance without them. I can only express my wish, that, if Mr. Oswald returns hither, he may bring with him the agreement of your court to treat for a general peace, and the proposal of place and time, that I may immediately write to Messrs. Adams, Laurens, and Jay. I suppose, that in this case, your Lordship will think it proper to have Mr. Laurens discharged from the engagements he entered into, when he was admitted to bail. I desire no other channel of communication between us, than that of Mr. Oswald, which I think your Lordship has chosen with

much judgment. He will be witness of my acting with all the simplicity and good faith, which you do me the honor to expect from me; and, if he is enabled, when he returns hither, to communicate more fully your Lordship's mind on the principal points to be settled, I think it may contribute much to the blessed work our hearts are engaged in.

"By the act of Parliament relative to American prisoners, I see the King is empowered to exchange them. I hope those you have in England and Ireland may be sent home soon to their country, in flags of truce, and exchanged for an equal number of your people. Permit me to add, that I think it would be well, if some kindness were mixed in the transaction, with regard to their comfortable accommodation on shipboard; as these poor unfortunate people have been long absent from their families and friends, and rather hardly treated. With great and sincere respect, I have the honor to be, my Lord, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the account, contained in this letter, of what passed in the conversation with the minister, I should add his frank declaration, that, as the foundation of a good and durable peace should be laid in justice, whenever a treaty was entered upon, he had several demands of justice to make from England. Of this, says he, I give you previous notice. What these demands were, he did not particularly say. One occurred to me, viz. reparation for the injury done in taking a number of French ships by surprise, before the declaration of the preceding war, contrary to the law of nations. Mr. Oswald seemed to wish to obtain some propositions to carry back with him; but M. de

Vergennes said to him, very properly, "There are four nations engaged in the war against you, who cannot, till they have consulted and know each other's minds, be ready to make propositions. Your court being without allies and alone, knowing its own mind, can express it immediately. It is therefore more natural to expect the first proposition from you."

On our return from Versailles, Mr. Oswald took occasion to impress me with ideas, that the present weakness of the government of England, with regard to continuing the war, was owing chiefly to the division of sentiments about it; that, in case France should make demands too humiliating for England to submit to, the spirit of the nation would be roused, unanimity would prevail, and resources would not be wanting. He said, there was no want of money in the nation; that the chief difficulty lay in the finding out new taxes to raise it; and, perhaps, that difficulty might be avoided by shutting up the Exchequer, stopping the payment of the interest of the public funds, and applying that money to the support of the war. I made no reply to this; for I did not desire to discourage their stopping payment, which I considered as cutting the throat of the public credit, and a means of adding fresh exasperation against them with the neighbouring nations. Such menaces were, besides an encouragement with me, remembering the adage, that *they who threaten are afraid.*

The next morning, when I had written the above letter to Lord Shelburne, I went with it to Mr. Oswald's lodgings, and gave it to him to read before I sealed it; that, in case any thing might be in it with which he was not satisfied, it might be corrected; but he expressed himself much pleased.

In going to him, I had also in view the entering into a conversation, which might draw out something of the mind of his court on the subject of Canada and Nova Scotia. I had thrown some loose thoughts on paper, which I intended to serve as memorandums for my discourse, but without a fixed intention of showing them to him. On his saying that he was obliged to me for the good opinion I had expressed of him to Lord Shelburne in my letter, and assuring me, that he had entertained the same of me, I observed, that I perceived Lord Shelburne had placed great confidence in him, and, as we had happily the same in each other, we might possibly, by a free communication of sentiments, and a previous settling of our own minds on some of the important points, be the means of great good, by impressing our sentiments on the minds of those, with whom they might have influence, and where their being received might be of importance.

I then remarked, that his nation seemed to desire a reconciliation; that, to obtain this, the party which had been the aggressor and had cruelly treated the other, should show some marks of concern for what was past, and some disposition to make reparation; that perhaps there were things, which America might demand by way of reparation, and which England might yield, and that the effect would be vastly greater, if they appeared to be voluntary, and to spring from returning good will; that I, therefore, wished England would think of offering something to relieve those, who had suffered by its scalping and burning parties. Lives indeed could not be restored nor compensated, but the villages and houses wantonly destroyed might be rebuilt, &c. I then touched upon the affair of Canada, and, as in a former conversation he had mentioned his opinion, that

the giving up of that country to the English, at the last peace, had been a politic act in France, for that it had weakened the ties between England and her colonies, and that he himself had predicted from it the late revolution, I spoke of the occasions of future quarrel that might be produced by her continuing to hold it; hinting at the same time, but not expressing too plainly, that such a situation, to us so dangerous, would necessarily oblige us to cultivate and strengthen our union with France. He appeared much struck with my discourse, and, as I frequently looked at my paper, he desired to see it. After some little delay, I allowed him to read it; the following is an exact copy.

"NOTES FOR CONVERSATION.

"To make a peace durable, what may give occasion for future wars should if practicable be removed.

"The territory of the United States and that of Canada, by long extended frontiers, touch each other.

"The settlers on the frontiers of the American provinces are generally the most disorderly of the people, who, being far removed from the eye and control of their respective governments, are more bold in committing offences against neighbours, and are for ever occasioning complaints and furnishing matter for fresh differences between their States.

"By the late debates in Parliament, and public writings, it appears, that Britain desires a *reconciliation* with the Americans. It is a sweet word. It means much more than a mere peace, and what is heartily to be wished for. Nations make a peace whenever they are both weary of making war. But, if one of them has made war upon the other unjustly, and has wantonly and unnecessarily done it

great injuries, and refuses reparation, though there may, for the present, be peace, the resentment of those injuries will remain, and will break out again in vengeance when occasions offer. These occasions will be watched for by one side, feared by the other, and the peace will never be secure; nor can any cordiality subsist between them.

"Many houses and villages have been burnt in America by the English and their allies, the Indians. I do not know that the Americans will insist on reparation; perhaps they may. But would it not be better for England to offer it? Nothing would have a greater tendency to conciliate, and much of the future commerce and returning intercourse between the two countries may depend on the reconciliation. Would not the advantage of reconciliation by such means be greater than the expense?

"If then a way can be proposed, which may tend to efface the memory of injuries, at the same time that it takes away the occasions of fresh quarrels and mischief, will it not be worth considering, especially if it can be done, not only without expense, but be a means of saving?

"Britain possesses Canada. Her chief advantage from that possession consists in the trade for peltry. Her expenses in governing and defending that settlement must be considerable. It might be humiliating to her to give it up on the demand of America. Perhaps America will not demand it; some of her political rulers may consider the fear of such a neighbour, as a means of keeping the thirteen States more united among themselves, and more attentive to military discipline. But on the mind of the people in general would it not have an excellent effect, if Britain should voluntarily offer to give up this province; though on these conditions, that she shall in all times coming have

and enjoy the right of free trade thither, unincumbered with any duties whatsoever; that so much of the vacant lands there shall be sold, as will raise a sum sufficient to pay for the houses burnt by the British troops and their Indians; and also to indemnify the royalists for the confiscation of their estates?

"This is mere conversation matter between Mr. Oswald and Mr. Franklin, as the former is not empowered to make propositions, and the latter cannot make any without the concurrence of his colleagues."

He then told me, that nothing in his judgment could be clearer, more satisfactory and convincing, than the reasonings in that paper; that he would do his utmost to impress Lord Shelburne with them; that as his memory might not do them justice, and it would be impossible for him to express them so well, or state them so clearly as I had written them, he begged I would let him take the paper with him, assuring me that he would return it safely into my hands. I at length complied with this request also. We parted exceeding good friends, and he set out for London.

By the first opportunity after his departure, I wrote the following letter to Mr. Adams, and sent the papers therein mentioned, that he might fully be apprized of the proceedings. I omitted only the paper of *Notes for Conversation* with Mr. Oswald, but gave the substance, as appears in the letter. The reason of my omitting it was, that, on reflection, I was not pleased with my having hinted a reparation to Tories for their forfeited estates, and I was a little ashamed of my weakness in permitting the paper to go out of my hands.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

" Passy, 20 April, 1782.

" SIR,

"I hope your Excellency received the copy of our instructions, which I sent by the courier from Versailles, some weeks since. I wrote to you on the 13th, to go by Captain Smedley, and sent a packet of correspondence with Mr. Hartley. Smedley did not leave Paris so soon as I expected; but you should have it by this time.

" With this I send a fresh correspondence, which I have been drawn into, viz. 1st, A letter I sent to Lord Shelburne before he was a minister. 2dly, His answer since he was a minister, by Mr. Oswald. 3dly, A letter from Mr. Laurens. 4thly, My letter to M. de Vergennes. 5thly, My answer to Lord Shelburne. 6thly. My answer to Mr. Laurens. 7thly, Copy of Digges's report. These papers will inform you pretty well of what passed between me and Mr. Oswald, except that in a conversation at parting, I mentioned to him, that I observed they spoke much in England of obtaining a *reconciliation* with the colonies; that this was more than a peace; that the latter might possibly be obtained without the former; that the cruel injuries constantly done us by burning our towns, &c. had made deep impressions of resentment, that would long remain; that much of the advantage to the commerce of England from a peace would depend on a *reconciliation;* that the peace without reconciliation would probably not be durable; that after a quarrel between friends, nothing tended so much to *conciliate,* as offers made by the aggressor of reparation for injuries done by him in his passion. And I hinted, that, if England should make us a voluntary offer

of Canada, expressly for that purpose, it might have a good effect.

"Mr. Oswald liked much the idea, and said they were too much straitened for money to make us pecuniary reparation, but he should endeavour to persuade their doing it this way. He is furnished with a passport to go and return by Calais, and I expect him back in ten or twelve days. I wish you and Mr. Laurens could be here when he arrives, for I shall much want your advice, and cannot act without your concurrence. If the present crisis of your affairs prevents your coming, I hope, at least, Mr. Laurens will be here, and we must communicate with you by expresses, for your letters to me by post are generally opened. I shall write by the next post, requesting Mr. Jay to be here also as soon as possible.

"I received your letter advising of your draft on me for a quarter's salary, which will be duly honored. With great esteem, I have the honor to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Supposing Mr. Laurens to be in Holland with Mr. Adams, I, at the same time, wrote to him the following letter.

TO HENRY LAURENS.

"Passy, 20 April, 1782.

"SIR,

"I received, by Mr. Oswald, the letter you did me the honor of writing to me on the 7th instant. He brought me also a letter from Lord Shelburne, which gave him the same good character that you do, adding, 'He is fully apprized of my mind, and you may give full credit to every

thing he assures you of.' Mr. Oswald, however, could give me no other particulars of his Lordship's mind, but that he was sincerely disposed to peace. As the message seemed, therefore, rather intended to procure or receive propositions than to make any, I told Mr. Oswald that I could make none but in concurrence with my colleagues in the commission, and that, if we were together, we should not treat but in conjunction with France; and I proposed introducing him to M. de Vergennes, which he accepted.

"He made to that minister the same declaration of the disposition of England to peace; who replied, that France had assuredly the same good disposition; that a treaty might be immediately begun, but it must be for a *general*, not a *particular* peace. That, as to the place, he thought Paris might be the most convenient, as Spain had here already an ambassador, and the American Commissioners could easily be assembled here; this, upon a supposition of the parties treating directly with each other without the intervention of mediators; but, if the mediation was to be used, it might be at Vienna. The King, his master, however, was so truly disposed to peace, that he would agree to any place that the King of England should choose, and would, at the treaty, give proof of the confidence that might be placed in any engagements he should then enter into, by the fidelity and exactitude with which he should observe those he already had with his present allies.

"Mr. Oswald is returned with these general answers by the way of Calais, and expects to be here again in a few days. I wish it might be convenient for you and Mr. Adams to be here at the same time; but, if the present critical situation of affairs there, makes his being in Holland necessary just now, I hope you may, nevertheless, be

here, bringing with you his opinion and advice. I have proposed to Lord Shelburne to discharge you from the obligations you entered into at the time of your enlargement, that you may act more freely in the treaty he desires.

"I had done myself the honor of writing to you a few days before the arrival of Mr. Oswald. My letter went by Mr. Young, your secretary, and enclosed a copy of your commission, with an offer of money if you had occasion for any. Hoping that you will not return to England before you have been at Paris, I forbear enlarging on the state of our affairs here and in Spain. M. de Vergennes told me, he should be very glad to see you here. I found Mr. Oswald to answer perfectly the character you gave me of him, and was much pleased with him. I have the honor to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Just after I had despatched these letters, I received the following from Mr. Adams.

FROM JOHN ADAMS TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Amsterdam, 16 April, 1782.

"SIR,

"Yesterday noon, Mr. William Vaughan, of London, came to my house with Mr. Laurens, the son of the president, and brought me a line from the latter, and told me the President was at Haerlem, and desired to see me. I went to Haerlem and found my old friend at the *Golden Lion*. He told me, he was come partly for his health and the pleasure of seeing me, and partly to converse with me, and see if he had at present just ideas and views of things, at least to see if we agreed in sentiment, having been desired by several of the new ministry to do so. I asked him if he was at liberty? He said, No; that he was still under

parole, but at liberty to say what he pleased to me. I told him, that I could not communicate to him, being a prisoner, even his own instructions, nor enter into any consultation with him as one of our colleagues in the commission for peace; that all I should say to him would be as one private citizen conversing with another; but that, upon all such occasions, I should reserve a right to communicate whatever should pass to our colleagues and allies.

"He said, that Lord Shelburne, and others of the new ministers, were anxious to know, whether there was any authority to treat of a separate peace, and whether there could be an accommodation upon any terms short of independence; that he had ever answered them, that nothing short of an express or tacit acknowledgment of our independence, in his opinion, would ever be accepted, and that no treaty ever would, or could, be made separate from France. He asked me, if his answers had been right. I told him, that I was fully of that opinion. He said, that the new ministers had received Digges's report, but his character was such, that they did not choose to depend upon it; that a person by the name of Oswald, I think, set off for Paris to see you, about the same time he came away to see me.

"I desired him, between him and me, to consider, without saying any thing of it to the ministry, whether we could ever have a real peace, with Canada or Nova Scotia in the hands of the English; and whether we ought not to insist, at least, upon a stipulation, that they should keep no standing army, or regular troops, nor erect any fortifications, upon the frontiers of either. That, at present, I saw no motive that we had to be anxious for a peace; and, if the nation was not ripe for it upon proper terms, we might wait patiently till they should be so.

"I found the old gentleman perfectly sound in his system of politics. He has a very poor opinion, both of the integrity and abilities of the new ministry, as well as the old.

He thinks they know not what they are about; that they are spoiled by the same insincerity, duplicity, falsehood, and corruption, with the former. Lord Shelburne still flatters the King with ideas of conciliation and a separate peace, &c.; yet the nation, and the best men in it, are for universal peace and an express acknowledgment of American independence, and many of the best are for giving up Canada and Nova Scotia. His design seemed to be solely to know how far Digges's report was true. After an hour or two of conversation, I returned to Amsterdam, and left him to return to London.

"These are all but artifices to raise the stocks; and, if you think of any method to put a stop to them, I will cheerfully concur with you. They now know sufficiently, that our commission is to treat of a general peace, and with persons vested with equal powers; and, if you agree to it, I will, never to see another messenger that is not a plenipotentiary.

"It is expected that the seventh Province, Guelderland, will this day acknowledge American independence. I think we are in such a situation now, that we ought not, upon any consideration, to think of a truce, or any thing short of an express acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the United States. I should be glad, however, to know your sentiments upon this point. I have the honor to be, &c.

"JOHN ADAMS."

To the above, I immediately wrote the following answer.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

"Passy, 20 April, 1782.

"SIR,

"I have just received the honor of yours, dated the 16th instant, acquainting me with the interview between your

Excellency and Mr. Laurens. I am glad to learn, that his political sentiments coincide with ours, and that there is a disposition in England to give us up Canada and Nova Scotia.

"I like your idea of seeing no more messengers, that are not plenipotentiaries; but I cannot refuse seeing again Mr. Oswald, as the minister here considered the letter to me from Lord Shelburne as a kind of authentication given that messenger, and expects his return with some explicit propositions. I shall keep you advised of whatever passes.

"The late act of Parliament, for exchanging American prisoners *as prisoners of war*, according to the law of nations, *any thing in their commitments notwithstanding*, seems to me a renunciation of their pretensions to try our people as subjects guilty of high treason, and to be a kind of tacit acknowledgment of our independency. Having taken this step, it will be less difficult for them to acknowledge it expressly. They are now preparing transports to send the prisoners home. I yesterday sent the passports desired of me.

"Sir George Grand shows me a letter from Mr. Fizeau, in which he says, that, if advantage is taken of the present enthusiasm in favor of America, a loan might be obtained in Holland, of five or six millions of florins, for America, and, if their house is empowered to open it, he has no doubt of success; but that no time is to be lost. I earnestly recommend this matter to you, as extremely necessary to the operations of our financier, Mr. Morris, who, not knowing that the greatest part of the last five millions had been consumed by purchase of goods, &c., in Europe, writes me advice of large drafts, that he shall be obliged to make upon me this summer.

"This court has granted us six millions of livres for the current year; but it will fall vastly short of our occasions, there being large orders to fulfil, and near two millions and a half to pay M. Beaumarchais, besides the interest, bills, &c. The house of Fizeau and Grand is now appointed banker for France, by a special commission from the King, and will, on that, as well as other accounts, be, in my opinion, the fittest for this operation. Your Excellency being on the spot, can better judge of the terms, &c., and manage with that house the whole business, in which I should be glad to have no other concern than that of receiving assistance from it, when pressed by the dreaded drafts. With great respect, I am, Sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

In reply to this, Mr. Adams wrote to me as follows.

FROM JOHN ADAMS TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Amsterdam, 2 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I am honored with your favor of the 20th of April, and Mr. Laurens's son proposes to carry the letter to his father forthwith. The instructions by the courier from Versailles came safe, as all other despatches by that channel no doubt will do. The correspondence with Mr. Hartley I received by Captain Smedley, and will take the first good opportunity by a private hand to return it, as well as that with the Earl of Shelburne.

"Mr. Laurens and Mr. Jay will, I hope, be able to meet at Paris; but when it will be in my power to go, I know not. Your present negotiation about peace falls in very well to aid a proposition, which I am instructed to make, as soon as the court of Versailles shall judge proper, of a

triple or quadruple alliance. This matter, the treaty of commerce, which is now under deliberation, and the loan, will render it improper for me to quit this station, unless in case of necessity. If there is a real disposition to permit Canada to accede to the American association, I should think there would be no great difficulty in adjusting all things between England and America, provided our allies are contented too. In a former letter I hinted, that I thought an express acknowledgment of our independence might now be insisted on; but I did not mean, that we should insist upon such an article in the treaty. If they make a treaty of peace with the United States of America, this is acknowledgment enough for me.

"The affair of a loan gives me much anxiety and fatigue. It is true, I may open a loan for five millions; but I confess, I have no hopes of obtaining so much. The money is not to be had. Cash is not infinite in this country. Their profits by trade have been ruined for two or three years; and there are loans open for France, Spain, England, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and several other powers, as well as their own national, provincial, and collegiate loans. The undertakers are already loaded with burdens greater than they can bear; and all the brokers in the republic are so engaged, that there is scarcely a ducat to be lent, but what is promised.

"This is the true cause why we should not succeed; yet they will seek a hundred other pretences. It is considered such an honor and such an introduction to American trade to be the house, that the eagerness to obtain the title of American banker is prodigious. Various houses have pretensions, which they set up very high; and, let me choose which I will, I am sure of a cry and clamor.

"I have taken some measures to endeavour to calm the heat, and give general satisfaction, but have as yet small hopes of success. I would strike with any house that would

insure the money, but none will undertake it, now it is offered, although several were very ready to affirm that they could, when it began to be talked of. Upon inquiry, they do not find the money easy to obtain, which I could have told them before. It is to me, personally, perfectly indifferent which is the house; and the only question is, which will be able to do best for the interests of the United States. This question, however simple, is not easy to answer. But I think it clear, after very painful and laborious inquiry for a year and a half, that no house whatever will be able to do much. Enthusiasm, at some times and in some countries, may do a great deal; but there has as yet been no enthusiasm in this country for America, strong enough to untie many purses. Another year, if the war continues, perhaps we may do better. I have the honor to be, &c.

"JOHN ADAMS."

During Mr. Oswald's absence, I received the following from Mr. Laurens.

FROM HENRY LAURENS TO B. FRANKLIN.

"London, 20 April, 1782.

"SIR,

"I wrote to you on the 7th instant, by Mr. Oswald, since which, that is to say, on the 28th, I was honored by the receipt of your letter of the 12th, enclosing a copy of the commission for treating for peace, by the hands of Mr. Young. The recognizance, exacted from me by the late ministry, has been vacated and done away by the present; these have been pleased to enlarge me without formal conditions; but, as I would not consent that the United States of America should be outdone in generosity, however late the marks appeared on this side, I took upon me to assure Lord Shelburne, in a letter of acknowledgment for the part,

which his Lordship had taken for obtaining my release, that Congress would not fail to make a just and adequate return. The only return, in my view, is Lieutenant-General Lord Cornwallis. Congress were pleased some time ago, to offer a British lieutenant-general for my ransom; and, as I am informed a special exchange of Lord Cornwallis for the same object was lately in contemplation, it would afford me very great satisfaction to know, that you will join me in cancelling the debt of honor, which we have impliedly incurred, by discharging his Lordship from the obligations of his parole.

"For my own part, though not a bold adventurer, I think I shall not commit myself to the risk of censure, by acting conjunctly with you in such a bargain. I entreat you, Sir, at least, to reflect on this matter; I shall take the liberty of requesting your determination when I reach the continent, which will probably happen in a few days.

"Lord Cornwallis, in a late conversation with me, put the following case. 'Suppose,' said his Lordship, 'it shall have been agreed, in America, that Lord Cornwallis should be offered in exchange for Mr. Laurens, don't you think, although you are now discharged, I ought to reap the intended benefit?' A reply from the feelings of the heart, as I love fair play, was prompt; 'Undoubtedly, my Lord, you ought to be, and shall be, in such case, discharged, and I will venture to take the burden upon myself.' Certain legal forms, I apprehend, rendered the discharge of me, without condition, unavoidable; but I had previously refused to accept of myself for nothing, and what I now aim at was understood as an adequate return; it is not to be doubted, his Lordship's question was built on this ground.

"I had uniformly and explicitly declared to the people here, people in the first rank of importance, that nothing

short of independence, in terms of our treaty of alliance, would induce America to treat for truce or peace, and that no treaty could be had without the consent of our ally first obtained; in a word, if you mean to have peace, you must seek for a general peace. The doctrine was ill relished, especially by those whose power only could set the machine in motion; but having, since my return from Haerlem, asserted, in very positive terms, that I was confirmed in my former opinions, the late obduracy has been more than a little softened, as you will soon learn from the worthy friend, by whom I addressed you on the 7th, who two days ago set out on his return to Passy and Versailles, with, I believe, a more permanent commission than the former.

"Accept my thanks, Sir, for the kind offer of a supply of money. I know too well how much you have been harassed for that article, and too well, how low our American finances in Europe are; therefore, if I can possibly avoid it, I will not further trouble you, nor impoverish them, or not till the last extremity. Hitherto I have supported myself without borrowing from anybody, and I am determined to continue living upon my own stock while it lasts; the stock is indeed small; my expenses have been and shall be in a suitable, modest style. I pray God to bless you. I have the honor to be, &c.

"HENRY LAURENS."

"P. S. I judged it proper, not only to show the peace commission to Lord Shelburne, but to give his Lordship a copy of it, from an opinion that it would work no evil, being shown elsewhere."

On the 4th of May, Mr. Oswald returned, and brought me the following letter from Lord Shelburne.

FROM LORD SHELBURNE TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Shelburne House, 20 April, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received much satisfaction in being assured by you, that the qualifications of wisdom and integrity, which induced me to make choice of Mr. Oswald as the fittest instrument for the renewal of our friendly intercourse, have also recommended him so effectually to your approbation and esteem. I most heartily wish the influence of this first communication of our mutual sentiments may be extended to a happy conclusion of all our public differences.

"The candor with which the Count de Vergennes expresses his Most Christian Majesty's sentiments and wishes, on the subject of a speedy pacification, is a pleasing omen of its accomplishment. His Majesty is not less decided in the same sentiments and wishes, and it confirms his Majesty's ministers in their intention to act in like manner, as most consonant to the true dignity of a great nation. In consequence of these reciprocal advances, Mr. Oswald is sent back to Paris, for the purpose of arranging and settling with you the preliminaries of time and place; and I have the pleasure to tell you, that Mr. Laurens is already discharged from those engagements, which he entered into when he was admitted to bail.

"It is also determined, that Mr. Fox, from whose department that communication is necessarily to proceed, shall send a proper person, who may confer and settle immediately with the Count de Vergennes the further measures and proceedings, which may be judged proper to adopt toward advancing the prosecution of this important business.

"In the mean time, Mr. Oswald is instructed to communicate to you my thoughts upon the principal objects to be settled. Transports are actually preparing for the pur-

pose of conveying your prisoners to America, to be there exchanged; and we trust, that you will learn, that due attention has not been wanting to their accommodation and good treatment.

"I have the honor to be, with very sincere respect, dear Sir, your very faithful and obedient humble servant,

SHELBURNE."

Having read the letter, I mentioned to Mr. Oswald the part, which refers me to him for his Lordship's sentiments. He acquainted me, that they were very sincerely disposed to peace; that the whole ministry concurred in the same disposition; that a good deal of confidence was placed in my character for open, honest dealing; that it was also generally believed, I had still remaining some part of my ancient affection and regard for Old England, and it was hoped it might appear on this occasion. He then showed me an extract from the minutes of Council, but did not leave the paper with me. As well as I can remember, it was to this purpose.

"At a Cabinet Council, held April 27th, 1782, Present, Lord Rockingham, Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Camden, &c. &c., to the number of fifteen or twenty, being all ministers, and great officers of State,

"It was proposed to represent to his Majesty, that it would be well for Mr. Oswald to return to Doctor Franklin and acquaint him, that it is agreed to treat for a general peace, and at Paris; and that the principal points in contemplation are, the allowing of American Independence, on condition that England be put into the same situation, that she was left in by the peace of 1763."

Mr. Oswald also informed me, that he had conversed with

Lord Shelburne on the subject of my paper of *Notes*, relating to reconciliation. That he had shown him the paper, and had been prevailed on to leave it with him a night; but it was on his Lordship's solemn promise of returning it, which had been complied with, and he now returned it to me. That it seemed to have made an impression, and he had reason to believe that matter might be settled to our satisfaction towards the end of the treaty; but in his own mind he wished it might not be mentioned at the beginning. That his Lordship indeed said, he had not imagined reparation would be expected, and he wondered I should not know whether it was intended to demand it. Finally, Mr. Oswald acquainted me, that, as the business now likely to be brought forward more particularly appertained to the department of the other Secretary, Mr. Fox, he was directed to announce another agent coming from that department, who might be expected every day, viz. the honorable Mr. Grenville, brother to Lord Temple, and son of the famous Mr. George Grenville, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer. I immediately wrote the following note to the Count de Vergennes.

TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

"Passy, 4 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency, that Mr. Oswald is just returned from London, and is now with me. He has delivered me a letter from Lord Shelburne, which I enclose for your perusal, together with a copy of my letter, to which it is an answer. He tells me, that it has been agreed in Council to treat at Paris, and to treat of a *general peace;* and that, as it is more particularly in

the department of Mr. Fox to regulate the circumstantials, a gentleman, Mr. Grenville, to be sent by him for that purpose, may be daily expected here. Mr. Oswald will wait on your Excellency whenever you shall think fit to receive him. I am, with respect, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

And the next day I received the following answer.

FROM COUNT DE VERGENNES TO B. FRANKLIN.

Translation.

"Versailles, 5 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I have received the letter, which you did me the honor to write to me the 4th instant, as also those which accompanied it. I will see you with your friend, with pleasure, at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning. I have the honor to be, &c.

"DE VERGENNES."

Accordingly, on Monday morning I went with Mr. Oswald to Versailles, and we saw the minister. Mr. Oswald acquainted him with the disposition of his Court to treat for a general peace, and at Paris; and he announced Mr. Grenville, who, he said, was to set out about the same time with him; but, as he would probably come by the way of Ostend, might be a few days longer on the road. Some general conversation passed, agreeable enough, but not of importance.

In our return, Mr. Oswald repeated to me his opinion, that the affair of Canada would be settled to our satisfaction, and his wish that it might not be mentioned, till towards the end of the treaty. He intimated, too, that it was appre-

hended, the greatest obstructions in the treaty might come from the part of Spain; but said, if she was unreasonable, there were means to bring her to reason. That Russia was a friend to England, had lately made great discoveries on the back of North America, could make establishments there, and might easily transport an army from Kamschatka to the coast of Mexico, and conquer all those countries. This appeared a little visionary, at present; but I did not dispute it.

On the whole, I was able to draw so little from Mr. Oswald of the sentiments of Lord Shelburne, who had mentioned him as intrusted with the communication of them, that I could not but wonder at his being sent again to me, especially as Mr. Grenville was so soon to follow.

On Tuesday I was at Court, as usual on that day. M. de Vergennes asked me, if Mr. Oswald had not opened himself further to me? I acquainted him with the sight I had had of the minute of Council, and of the loose expressions contained in it, of what was in contemplation. He seemed to think it odd, that he had brought nothing more explicit. I supposed Mr. Grenville might be better furnished. The next morning I wrote the following letter to Mr. Adams.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

"Passy, 8 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"Mr. Oswald, whom I mentioned in a former letter, which I find you have received, is returned, and brought me another letter from Lord Shelburne, of which the above is a copy. It says, Mr. Oswald is instructed to communicate to me his Lordship's thoughts. He is, however, very sparing of such communication. All I have got from him

is, that the ministry have in contemplation the allowing independence to America, on condition of Britain being put again into the state she was left in by the peace of 1763, which I suppose means being put again in the possession of the islands, which France has taken from her. This seems to me a proposition of selling to us a thing, that was already our own, and making France pay the price they are pleased to ask for it.

"Mr. Grenville, who is sent by Mr. Fox, is expected here daily. Mr. Oswald tells me, that Mr. Laurens will soon be here also. Yours of the 2d instant is just come to hand. I shall write to you on this affair hereafter, by the court couriers; for I am certain, that your letters to me are opened at the postoffice, either here or in Holland, and I suppose that mine to you are treated in the same manner. I enclose the cover of your last, that you may see the seal. With great respect, I am, Sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

I had but just sent away this letter, when Mr. Oswald came in, bringing with him Mr. Grenville, who was just arrived. He gave me the following letter from Mr. Secretary Fox.

FROM CHARLES J. FOX TO B. FRANKLIN.

"St. James's, 1 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"Though Mr. Oswald will, no doubt, have informed you of the nature of Mr. Grenville's commission, yet I cannot refrain from making use of the opportunity, that his going offers me, to assure you of the esteem and respect, which I have borne to your character, and to beg you to believe, that no change in my situation has made any in those ardent

wishes for reconciliation, which I have invariably felt from the very beginning of this unhappy contest.

"Mr. Grenville is fully acquainted with my sentiments upon this subject, and with the sanguine hopes, which I have conceived, that those with whom we are contending are too reasonable to continue a contest which has no longer any object, either real or even imaginary. I know your liberality of mind too well to be afraid, lest any prejudices against Mr. Grenville's *name* may prevent you from esteeming those excellent qualities of heart and head, which belong to him, or from giving the fullest credit to the sincerity of his wishes for peace, in which no man in either country goes beyond him. I am, with great truth and regard, &c.

"C. J. Fox."

I imagined the gentleman had been at Versailles, as I supposed Mr. Grenville would first have waited on M. de Vergennes before he called on me. But finding, in conversation, that he had not, and that he expected me to introduce him, I immediately wrote to that minister, acquainting him, that Mr. Grenville was arrived, and desired to know when his Excellency would think fit to receive him, and I sent an express with my letter.

I then entered into conversation with him on the subject of his mission, Mr. Fox having referred me to him, as being fully acquainted with his sentiments. He said, that peace was really wished for by everybody, if it could be obtained on reasonable terms; and, as the idea of subjugating America was given up, and both France and America had thereby obtained what they had in view originally, it was hoped, that there now remained no obstacle to a pacification. That England was willing to treat of a general peace

with all the powers at war against her, and that the treaty should be at Paris.

I did not press him much for further particulars, supposing they were reserved for our interview with M. de Vergennes. The gentlemen did me the honor of staying to dinner with me, on the supposition, which I urged, that my express might be back before we parted. This gave me an opportunity of a good deal of general conversation with Mr. Grenville, who appeared to me a sensible, judicious, intelligent, good-tempered, and well-instructed young man, answering well the character Mr. Fox had given me of him.

They left me, however, about six o'clock, and my messenger did not return till near nine. He brought me the answer of the Count de Vergennes, that he was glad to hear of Mr. Grenville's arrival, and would be ready to receive us to-morrow, at half past ten or eleven o'clock. I immediately enclosed this note in one to Mr. Grenville, requesting him to be with me at Passy by eight, that we might have time to breakfast before we set out. I have preserved no copy of these three last-mentioned notes, or I should have inserted them, as I think, that, though they seem of almost too trifling a nature, they serve usefully sometimes to settle dates, authenticate facts, and show something of the turn and manner of thinking of the writers on particular occasions. The answer I received was as follows.

"Mr. Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. Franklin, and will certainly do himself the honor of waiting upon Mr. Franklin to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.

"*Rue de Richelieu, Wednesday night.*"

We set out accordingly the next morning in my coach,

and arrived punctually at Count de Vergennes's, who received Mr. Grenville in the most cordial manner, on account of the acquaintance and friendship, that had formerly subsisted between his uncle and the Count de Vergennes, when they were ambassadors together at Constantinople.

After some little agreeable conversation, Mr. Grenville presented his letters from Mr. Secretary Fox, and, I think, from the Duke of Richmond. When these were read, the subject of peace was entered upon. What my memory retains of the discourse amounts to little more than this, that, after mutual declarations of the good dispositions of the two courts, Mr. Grenville having intimated, that, in case England gave America independence, France, it was expected, would restore the conquests she had made of British islands, receiving back those of Miquelon and St. Pierre. And, the original object of the war being obtained, it was supposed that France would be contented with that. The minister seemed to smile at the proposed exchange, and remarked, the offer of giving independence to America amounted to little. "America," said he, "does not ask it of you; there is Mr. Franklin, he will answer you as to that point." "To be sure," I said, "we do not consider ourselves as under any necessity of bargaining for a thing that is our own, which we have bought at the expense of much blood and treasure, and which we are in possession of." "As to our being satisfied with the original object of the war," continued he, "look back to the conduct of your nation in former wars. In the last war, for example, what was the object? It was the disputed right of some waste lands on the Ohio and the frontiers of Nova Scotia. Did you content yourselves with the recovery of those lands?

No, you retained at the peace all Canada, all Louisiana, all Florida, Grenada, and other West India islands, the greatest part of the northern fisheries, with all your conquests in Africa and the East Indies." Something being mentioned of its not being reasonable, that a nation, after making an unprovoked and unsuccessful war upon its neighbours, should expect to sit down whole, and have every thing restored, which she had lost in such a war, I think Mr. Grenville remarked, the war had been provoked by the encouragement given by France to the Americans to revolt. On which the Count de Vergennes grew a little warm, and declared firmly, that the breach was made, and our independence declared, long before we received the least encouragement from France; and he defied the world to give the smallest proof of the contrary. "There sits," said he, "Mr. Franklin, who knows the fact, and can contradict me if I do not speak the truth."

He repeated to Mr. Grenville, what he had before said to Mr. Oswald, respecting the King's intention of treating fairly, and keeping faithfully the conventions he should enter into, of which disposition he should give at the treaty convincing proofs by the fidelity and exactitude, with which he should observe his engagements with his present allies, and added, that the points which the King had chiefly in view were *justice* and *dignity*; these he could not depart from. He acquainted Mr. Grenville, that he should immediately write to Spain and Holland, communicate to those courts what had passed, and request their answers; that, in the mean time, he hoped Mr. Grenville would find means of amusing himself agreeably, to which he should be glad to contribute; that he would communicate what had passed to the King, and he invited him to come again the next day.

On our return, Mr. Grenville expressed himself as not quite satisfied with some part of the Count de Vergennes's discourse, and was thoughtful. He told me, that he had brought two State messengers with him, and perhaps, after he had had another interview with the minister, he might despatch one of them to London. I then requested leave to answer, by that opportunity, the letters I had received from Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox, and he kindly promised to acquaint me in time of the messenger's departure. He did not ask me to go with him the next day to Versailles, and I did not offer it.

The coming and going of these gentlemen were observed, and made much talk at Paris; and the Marquis de Lafayette, having learned something of their business from the minister, discoursed with me about it. Agreeably to the resolutions of Congress, directing me to confer with him, and take his assistance in our affairs, I communicated to him what had passed. He told me, that, during the treaty at Paris for the last peace, the Duke de Nivernais had been sent to reside in London, that this court might, through him, state what was from time to time transacted in the light they thought best, to prevent misrepresentations and misunderstandings. That such an employ would be extremely agreeable to him on many accounts; that as he was now an American citizen, spoke both languages, and was well acquainted with our interests, he believed he might be useful in it; and that, as peace was likely from appearances to take place, his return to America was perhaps not so immediately necessary. I liked the idea, and encouraged his proposing it to the ministry. He then wished I would make him acquainted with Messrs. Oswald and Grenville, and for that end proposed meeting them at breakfast with

me, which I promised to contrive if I could, and endeavour to engage them for Saturday.

Friday morning, the 10th of May, I went to Paris, and visited Mr. Oswald. I found him in the same friendly dispositions, and very desirous of good, and seeing an end put to this ruinous war. But I got no further sight as to the sentiments of Lord Shelburne respecting the terms. I told him, the Marquis de Lafayette would breakfast with me to-morrow, and as he, Mr. Oswald, might have some curiosity to see a person who had in this war rendered himself so remarkable, I proposed his doing me the same honor. He agreed to it cheerfully. I came home intending to write to Mr. Grenville, who I supposed might stay and dine at Versailles, and therefore did not call on him. But he was returned, and I found the following note from him.

"Paris, 10 May.

"Mr. Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. Franklin; he proposes sending a courier to England at ten o'clock to-night, and will give him in charge any letters Mr. Franklin may wish to send by him."

I sat down immediately, and wrote the two short letters following to the secretaries of state.

"TO CHARLES J. FOX.

"Passy, 10 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me by Mr. Grenville, whom I find to be a sensible, judicious, and amiable gentleman. The name, I assure you, does not lessen with me the regard his excellent qualities inspire. I introduced him as soon as possible to Count

de Vergennes; he will himself give you an account of his reception. I hope his coming may forward the blessed work of pacification, in which, for the sake of humanity, no time should be lost, no reasonable cause as you observe existing at present for the continuance of this abominable war. Be assured of my endeavours to put an end to it.

"I am much flattered by the good opinion of a person I have long highly esteemed, and I hope it will not be lessened by my conduct in the affair, that has given rise to our correspondence. With great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

TO LORD SHELBURNE.

"Passy, 10 May, 1782.

"MY LORD,

"I have received the honor of your Lordship's letter, dated the 28th past, by Mr. Oswald, informing me, that he is sent back to settle with me the preliminaries of time and place. Paris, as the place, seemed to me yesterday to be agreed on, between Mr. Grenville and M. de Vergennes, and is perfectly agreeable to me. The time cannot well be settled till this court has received answers from Madrid, and the Hague, and until my colleagues are arrived. I expect daily Messrs. Jay and Laurens. Mr. Adams doubts whether he can be here, but that will not hinder our proceeding.

"It gave me great pleasure to hear Mr. Laurens is discharged entirely from the obligations he had entered into. I am much obliged by the readiness with which your Lordship has conferred that favor. Please to accept my thankful acknowledgments.

"I am happy, too, in understanding from your letter, that transports are actually preparing to convey our prisoners to America, and that attention will be paid to their accommodation and good treatment. Those people on their return will be dispersed through every part of America, and the accounts they will have to give of any marks of kindness received by them under the present ministry, will lessen much the resentment of their friends against the nation, for the hardships they suffered under the *past*.

"Mr. Oswald rests here awhile by my advice, as I think his presence likely to be useful. With great, and sincere respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

And I sent them to Mr. Grenville with the following note.

"Mr. Franklin presents his compliments to Mr. Grenville, and thanks him for the information of his courier's departure, and his kind offer of forwarding Mr. Franklin's letter; he accepts the favor and encloses two.

"The Marquis de Lafayette and Mr. Oswald will do Mr. Franklin the honor of breakfasting with him to-morrow, between nine and ten o'clock. Mr. Franklin will also be happy to have the company of Mr. Grenville if agreeable to him. He should have waited upon Mr. Grenville to-day at Paris, but he imagined Mr. Grenville was at Versailles.

"*Passy, Friday evening, May 10th.*"

To which Mr. Grenville sent me this answer.

"Mr. Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. Frank-

lin, and will, with great pleasure, do himself the honor of breakfasting with Mr. Franklin to-morrow between nine and ten o'clock. Mr. Grenville was at Versailles to-day, and should have been sorry if Mr. Franklin should have given himself the trouble of calling at Paris this morning. The courier shall certainly take particular care of Mr. Franklin's letters.

"*Paris, Friday, May* 10*th.*"

The gentlemen all met accordingly, had a good deal of conversation at and after breakfast, stayed till after one o'clock, and parted much pleased with each other.

The Monday following, I called to visit Mr. Grenville. I found with him Mr. Oswald, who told me he was just about returning to London. I was a little surprised at the suddenness of the resolution he had taken, it being, as he said, to set out the next morning early. I conceived the gentleman was engaged in business, so I withdrew, and went to write a few letters, among which was the following to Lord Shelburne, being really concerned at the thought of losing so good a man as Mr. Oswald.

TO LORD SHELBURNE.

"Passy, 13 May, 1782.

"My Lord,

"I did myself the honor of writing to your Lordship a few days since, by Mr. Grenville's courier, acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 28th past, by Mr. Oswald.

"I then hoped that gentleman would have remained here some time, but his affairs, it seems, recall him sooner than he imagined. I hope he will return again, as I esteem him more, the more I am acquainted with him, and believe his

moderation, prudent counsels, and sound judgment may contribute much, not only to the speedy conclusion of a peace, but to the framing such a peace as may be firm and lasting. With great respect, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

I went in the evening to Mr. Oswald's lodging with my letters, when he informed me, his intention was to return immediately hither from England; and, to make the more despatch in going and returning, he should leave his carriage at Calais, as the embarking and debarking of carriages in the packet boats often occasioned a tide's delay. I did not inquire the reason of this movement. We had but little conversation, for Mr. Grenville coming in, I soon after wished him a good journey and retired, that I might not interrupt their consultations.

Since his departure Mr. Grenville has made me a visit; and entered into conversation with me, exactly of the same tenor with the letters I formerly received from Mr. Hartley, stating suppositions that France might insist on points totally different from what had been the object of our alliance, and that, in such case, he should imagine we were not at all bound to continue the war to obtain such points for her, &c. I thought I could not give him a better answer to this kind of discourse, than what I had given in two letters to Mr. Hartley, and, therefore, calling for those letters, I read them to him. He smiled, and would have turned the conversation; but I gave a little more of my sentiments on the general subject of benefits, obligation, and gratitude. I said, I thought people had often imperfect notions of their duty on those points, and that a state of obligation was to many so uneasy a state, that they became ingenious in find-

ing out reasons and arguments to prove that they had been laid under no obligation at all, or that they had discharged it, and they too easily satisfied themselves with such arguments.

To explain clearly my ideas on the subject, I stated a case. A, a stranger to B, sees him about to be imprisoned for a debt by a merciless creditor; he lends him the sum necessary to preserve his liberty. B then becomes the debtor of A, and, after some time, repays the money. Has he then discharged the obligation? No. He has discharged the money debt, but the obligation remains, and he is a debtor for the kindness of A, in lending him the sum so seasonably. If B should afterwards find A in the same circumstances, that he, B, had been in when A lent him the money, he may then discharge this obligation or debt of kindness *in part*, by lending him an equal sum. *In part*, I said, and not *wholly*, because, when A lent B the money, there had been no prior benefit received to induce him to it. And, therefore, if A should a second time need the same assistance, I thought B, if in his power, was in duty bound to afford it to him.

Mr. Grenville conceived that it was carrying gratitude very far, to apply this doctrine to our situation in respect to France, who was really the party served and obliged by our separation from England, as it lessened the power of her rival and relatively increased her own.

I told him, I was so strongly impressed with the kind assistance afforded us by France in our distress, and the generous and noble manner in which it was granted, without exacting or stipulating for a single privilege, or particular advantage to herself in our commerce, or otherwise, that I could never suffer myself to think of such reasonings

for lessening the obligation; and I hoped, and, indeed, did not doubt, but my countrymen were all of the same sentiments.

Thus he gained nothing of the point he came to push; we parted, however, in good humor. His conversation is always polite, and his manner pleasing. As he expressed a strong desire to discourse with me on the means of a reconciliation with America, I promised to consider the subject, and appointed Saturday the first day of June, for our conversation, when he proposed to call on me. The same day I received another letter from my old friend, Mr. Hartley. Our former correspondence on the subject of peace since the beginning of this year, I have kept by itself, as it preceded this, was in the time of the old ministry, and consisted wholly of letters unmixed with personal conversation. This being the first letter from him under the new ministry, and as it may be followed by others, which may relate to the negotiation, I insert it here, with my answer, and shall continue to insert the future letters I may receive from him relative to the same subject.

FROM DAVID HARTLEY TO B. FRANKLIN.

"London, 3 May, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I write to you only one line, just to inform you, that a general order is issued by our government for the release of all the American prisoners everywhere. I have had this from Lord Shelburne, who informed me, that the order was not partial or conditional, but general and absolute. I heartily congratulate you upon this first step towards *sweet reconciliation.* I hope other things will follow. I had a long conversation with Lord Shelburne relating to America,

in which he expressed himself in most favorable terms. I shall have the honor of seeing and conversing with you again. But at present, as you know, certain matters are depending from your side of the water.

"Mr. Laurens is entirely at liberty. I see him very frequently, and when you see him he will tell you many things from me, which have occurred to me in my poor endeavours to promote the cause of peace. *Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris.* Your affectionate, &c.

"D. HARTLEY."

TO DAVID HARTLEY.

"Passy, 13 May, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have just received your favor of the 3d instant. I thank you much for the good news you give me, that 'an order is issued by your government for the release of all the American prisoners *everywhere*, an order not *partial* or *conditional*, but *general* and *absolute*.' I rejoice with you in this step, not only on account of the unhappy captives, who by it will be set at liberty and restored to their friends and families, but as I think it will tend greatly towards a reconciliation, on which alone the hope of a durable peace can be founded. I am much indebted to your good brother for a very kind and obliging letter, which was mislaid when it should have been answered. I beg you would present to him my thankful acknowledgments and my very sincere respects. I join with you most heartily in the prayer that ends your letter, *Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris.* I am ever, my friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Our business standing still at present, till the return of

Mr. Oswald, gives me a void, that I may fill up with two or three circumstances, not at present connected with this intended treaty, but which serve to show something of the disposition of courts who have, or may have, a concern in it.

Mr. Jay had written to me, from time to time, of the unaccountable delays he had met with since his residence at the court of Spain, and that he was now no nearer in the business he had been charged with, than when he first arrived. Upon the first coming of Mr. Oswald, and the apparent prospect of a treaty, I wrote to press his coming hither, and, being a little out of humor with that court, I said, they have taken four years to consider whether they should treat with us, give them forty, and let us mind our own business; and I sent the letter under cover to a person at Madrid, who I hoped would open and read it.

It seems to me, that we have, in most instances, hurt our credit and importance, by sending all over Europe, begging alliances, and soliciting declarations of our independence. The nations, perhaps, from thence seemed to think, that our independence is something they have to sell, and that we do not offer enough for it. Mr. Adams has succeeded in Holland, owing to their war with England, and a good deal to the late votes in the Commons towards a reconciliation; but the ministers of the other powers refused, as I hear, to return his visits, because our independence was not yet acknowledged by their courts. I had heard here, by good luck, that the same resolution was taken by several of them not to return the visits I should make them (as they supposed) when I was first received here as minister plenipotentiary, and disappointed their project by visiting none of them. In my private opinion,

the first civility is due from the old resident to the stranger and new comer. My opinion indeed is good for nothing against custom, which I should have obeyed, but for the circumstances, that rendered it more prudent to avoid disputes and affronts, though at the hazard of being thought rude or singular.

While I am writing, something ridiculous enough on this head has happened to me. The Count du Nord, who is son of the Empress of Russia, arriving at Paris, ordered, it seems, cards of visit to be sent to all the foreign ministers. One of them, on which was written, "*Le Comte du Nord et le Prince Bariatinski,*" was brought to me. It was on Monday evening last. Being at court the next day, I inquired of an old minister, my friend, what was the etiquette, and whether the Count received visits. The answer was, "*Non; on se fait écrire; voilà tout.*" This is done by passing the door, and ordering your name to be written on the porter's book. Accordingly, on Wednesday I passed the house of Prince Bariatinski, ambassador of Russia, where the Count lodged, and left my name on the list of each. I thought no more of the matter; but this day, May the 24th, comes the servant who brought the card, in great affliction, saying he was like to be ruined by his mistake in bringing the card here, and wishing to obtain from me some paper, of I know not what kind, for I did not see him.

In the afternoon came my friend, M. Le Roy, who is also a friend of the Prince's, telling me how much he, the Prince, was concerned at the accident, that both himself and the Count had great personal regard for me and my character, but that, our independence not yet being acknowledged by the court of Russia, it was impossible for him to permit himself to make me a visit as minister. I told M. Le Roy

it was not my custom to seek such honors, though I was very sensible of them when conferred upon me; that I should not have voluntarily intruded a visit, and that, in this case, I had only done what I was informed the etiquette required of me; but if it would be attended with any inconvenience to Prince Bariatinski, whom I much esteemed and respected, I thought the remedy was easy; he had only to erase my name out of his book of visits received, and I would burn their card.

All the northern princes are not ashamed of a little civility committed towards an American. The King of Denmark, travelling in England under an assumed name, sent me a card, expressing in strong terms his esteem for me, and inviting me to dinner with him at St. James's. And the ambassador from the King of Sweden lately asked me, whether I had powers to make a treaty of commerce with their kingdom, for, he said, his master was desirous of such a treaty with the United States, had directed him to ask me the question, and had charged him to tell me, that it would flatter him greatly to make it with a person whose character he so much esteemed, &c. Such compliments might make me a little proud, if we Americans were not naturally as much so already as the porter, who, being told he had with his burden jostled the great Czar, Peter, then in London, walking the street; "*Poh!*" says he, "*we are all Czars here.*"

I did not write by Mr. Oswald to Mr. Laurens, because, from some expressions in his last to me, I expected him here, and I desired Mr. Oswald, if he found him still in London, or met him on the road, to give him that reason. I am disappointed in my expectation, for I have now received (May 25th) the following letter from him.

FROM HENRY LAURENS TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Ostend, 17 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I had the honor of addressing you on the 30th ultimo by post, a duplicate of which will accompany this, in order to guard against the effect of a miscarriage in the first instance, and I beg leave to refer you to the contents.

"On the 10th current and no sooner, your very obliging favor of the 20th preceding reached me in London. Being then on the point of leaving that place, I deferred a reply until my arrival on this side. This happened yesterday, too late to catch the post of the day, except by a single letter, put into my hands, I believe, by Dr. Price, which I sent forward.

"I sincerely and heartily thank you, Sir, for the cordial contents of your last letter; but, from the most mature reflection, and taking into consideration my present very infirm state of health, I have resolved to decline accepting the honor intended me by Congress, in the Commission for treating with Great Britain, and I find the less difficulty in coming to this determination, from a persuasion in my own mind that my assistance is not essential, and that it was not the view or expectation of our constituents, that every one named in the Commission should act. I purpose to repair to, or near Mr. Adams, and inquire of him, whether I may yet be serviceable under the Commission to which I had been first appointed, that for borrowing money for the use of the United States. If he speaks in the affirmative, I shall, though much against my own grain, as is well known at our little court, proceed in the mission with diligence and fidelity; otherwise, I shall take a convenient opportunity of returning to give an account there, of having in the course of two years and upwards done nothing, excepting only the making a great number of rebels in the enemy's

country, and reconciling thousands to the doctrine of absolute and unlimited independence; a doctrine, which I asserted and maintained with as much freedom in the Tower of London, as I ever had done in the State House at Philadelphia; and, having contentedly submitted to the loss of my estate, and being ready to lay down my life in support of it, I had the satisfaction of perceiving the coming of converts every day. I must not, however, conclude this head without assuring you, that, should you think proper to ask questions respecting American commerce, or the interest of any particular State, I will answer with candor and the best judgment I am possessed of; but of that judgment I sincerely protest I have the utmost diffidence. God prosper your proceedings in the great work; you will be called blessed by all the grateful of the present generation, and your name will be celebrated by posterity. I feel myself happy in reflecting, that, in the great outlines of a treaty, our opinions exactly coincide, that we shall not want the countenance and assistance of our great and good ally, and that you have so honest a man as Mr. Oswald to deal with for preliminaries. I know him to be superior to chicanery, and am sure he will not defile his mind by attempting any dirty thing.

"I entreat you, Sir, to present my humble respects to M. de Vergennes, and thank his Excellency for his polite expressions respecting me, and be so good as to say all that shall appear necessary in excuse for my non-appearance at his court.

"Lord Cornwallis called on me the day before I left London, and was, as you may suppose, very anxious to know when he might probably hear from me on the subject of his release; let me, therefore, request your opinion in answer to what I had the honor of writing in my last concerning that affair. I wish it may prove satisfactory to his Lordship, by enabling me, with your consent and concur-

rence, to cancel a debt, which does not sit easy upon me, and which cannot with honor to our country remain unpaid. I think we shall not, it is impossible we should, incur displeasure by doing an act of common justice, and our authority may be fairly implied.

"His Lordship declares he has no intention of returning to America, but desires to be reinstated in his legislative and military character in his own country, and I am of opinion, that in the former he will rather be friendly to us than otherwise. For my own part, if the war continues, I should not be uneasy if his Lordship were to go to the Chesapeake again.

"I have a thousand compliments and good wishes to present to you from friends in England, where, males and females, I am sure you have at least so many, that your own remembrance will lead you to individuals of your old acquaintance.

"To-morrow I intend to proceed to Brussels, and thence, probably, to the Hague and Amsterdam. My movements must, unavoidably, be as slow as water carriage. My weak under limbs cannot bear continual thumping on the pavement in the rough machines of this country, and the feebleness of my pocket will not admit the indulgence of a more convenient vehicle. I beg, Sir, you will write to me at the house of Mr. Edward Jennings, or under the protection of any other friend in that city, that will be at the trouble of finding out a voyager, who is, at all times, and in all places, with the highest esteem and respect, Sir, &c.

"HENRY LAURENS."

To the above, I wrote the following answer.

TO HENRY LAURENS.

"Passy, 25 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I am now honored with yours of the 17th. I had

before received one of the 7th, which remained unanswered, because, from the words in it, 'when I reach the Continent, which will probably happen in a few days,' I flattered myself with the pleasure of seeing you here. That hope is disappointed by your last, in which you tell me, you are determined not to act in the Commission for treating of peace with Great Britain. I regret your taking this resolution, principally because I am persuaded, that your assistance must have been of great service to our country. But I have besides some private or particular reasons, that relate to myself.

"To encourage me in the arduous task, you kindly tell me I shall be called *blessed, &c.* I have never yet known of a peace made, that did not occasion a great deal of popular discontent, clamor, and censure on both sides. This is, perhaps, owing to the usual management of the leaders and ministers of the contending nations, who, to keep up the spirits of their people for continuing the war, generally represent the state of their own affairs in a better light, and that of the enemy in a worse, than is consistent with the truth; hence the populace on each side expect better terms than can really be obtained, and are apt to ascribe their disappointment to treachery. Thus the peace of Utrecht, and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, were said in England to have been influenced by French gold, and in France, by English guineas. Even the last peace, the most glorious and advantageous for England that ever she made, was, you may remember, violently decried, and the makers as violently abused. So that the blessing promised to peacemakers, I fancy, relates to the next world, for in this they seem to have a greater chance of being cursed. And as another text observes, that in '*the multitude of counsellors*

there is safety,' which I think may mean safety to the counsellors as well as to the counselled, because, if they commit a fault in counselling, the blame does not fall upon one or a few, but is divided among many, and the share of each is so much the lighter, or because when a number of honest men are concerned, the suspicion of their being biassed is weaker, as being more improbable; or because *defendit numerus;* for all these reasons, but especially for the support your established character of integrity would afford me against the attacks of enemies, if this treaty take place, and I am to act in it, I wish for your presence, and the presence of as many of the Commissioners as possible, and I hope you will reconsider and change your resolution.

"In the mean time, as you have had opportunities of conversing with the new ministers, and other leading people in England, and of learning their sentiments relating to terms of peace, &c., I request you would inform me by letters of what you think important. Letters from you will come safer by the court courier than by the post, and I desire you would, if you should continue determined not to act, communicate to me your ideas of the terms to be insisted on, and the points to be attended to, respecting commerce, fisheries, boundaries, and every other material circumstance, that may be of importance to all or any of the United States.

"Lord Shelburne having written to me on the subject of the wished for peace, I acquainted him in my answer, sent by our friend, Mr. Oswald, that you were one of the Commissioners, appointed by Congress to treat with Britain, and that I imagined his Lordship would therefore think proper to discharge you entirely from the obligations you

entered into, when you were admitted to bail, that you might be at liberty to act freely in the Commission. He wrote to me in reply, that you were accordingly discharged immediately. His Lordship mentioned nothing of any exchange being expected for you; nevertheless, I honor your sensibility on the point, and your concern for the credit of America, that she should not be outdone in generosity by Great Britain, and will cheerfully join with you in any act, that you may think proper, to discharge in return the parole of Lord Cornwallis, as far as in our power may lie; but we have no express authority for that purpose, and the Congress may possibly, in the mean time, have made some other arrangement relative to his exchange. I conceive, that our acts should contain a clause, reserving to Congress the final approbation or disallowance of the proceeding; and I have some doubt whether Lord Cornwallis will think himself well freed of his engagements, and at liberty to exercise his military employments, by virtue of any concession in his favor made by persons, who are not vested with authority for that purpose. So that, on the whole, perhaps the best and surest way will be, our writing immediately to Congress, and strongly recommending the measure. However, I will do what you shall think best.

"I heartily wish you success in any endeavours you may use in Holland for raising a loan of money. We have pressed rather too hard on this court, and we still want more than they can conveniently spare us; but I am sorry, that too scrupulous regard to our wants and difficulties should induce you, under the present infirmity of your lower limbs, to deny yourself the necessary comfort of an easy carriage, rather than make any use of the public assistance, when the public must be much in your debt. I

beg you would get over that difficulty, and take of me what you may have occasion for.

"The letter you forwarded to me was from America's constant friend, the good Bishop of St. Asaph. He speaks of you in terms of the highest esteem and respect.

"Mr. Oswald has gone back again to London, but intended to return again immediately. Mr. Grenville remains here, and has received power to treat, but no further steps can be taken till Spain and Holland have empowered ministers for the same purpose.

"I shall inform you and Mr. Adams (if he does not come) of the proceeding from time to time, and request your counsel in cases of any difficulty. I hope you will not think of hazarding a return to America before a peace, if we find any hopes of its being soon obtained; and that, if you do not find you can be useful in the manner you wish, in Holland, you will make me happy by your company and counsel here. With great and sincere esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

May 26th, I received the following from Mr. Hartley.

FROM DAVID HARTLEY TO B. FRANKLIN.

"London, 13 May, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I wrote you a long letter dated May 1st, by Mr. Laurens, who left London on Saturday last, but I will add a few lines now by a conveyance, which I believe will overtake him, just to tell you two or three things, which I believe I omitted in my last. Perhaps they may not be of any consequence, but, as they relate to my own conduct, I could wish to have you understand them.

"After several conferences with the late ministry, I gave

in the paper, called the 'Breviate,' on the 7th of February, but I never received any answer from them. They resigned on the 20th of March. Upon the accession of the new ministry, I heard nothing from them upon the subject, nor indeed did I apply to them. I did not know whether that paper would not come into their hands by succession, and I doubted whether it might not be more proper for me to wait till I heard from them. While I remained doubtful about this, I received your letters, which determined me to go to Lord Shelburne. This was about the beginning of the present month. I communicated to him some extracts, such as those about the prisoners, &c., and likewise the whole of your letter of April 13th, containing the offer of the late ministry, the King of France's answer, together with your reflections in the conclusion respecting peace. As you had given me a general permission, I left with him a copy of the whole letter.

"Upon the occasion of this interview, Lord Shelburne told me, that he had made much inquiry in the offices for the correspondence and papers, which had passed between the late ministry and me, but that he could not meet with them. He expressed a regret, that he had not conversed with me at an earlier day, with many civilities of that kind. In short, I had been backward to intrude myself, and he expressed regret that he had not sent for me.

"Upon this opening on his part, I stated to him the substance of what passed between the late ministry and myself, and I left a copy of the 'Breviate' with him. He gave me a very attentive audience, and I took that opportunity of stating my sentiments to him, as far as I could, upon every view of the question. Upon his expressing his regret that he had not seen me sooner, I told him that I always had been, and always should be, most ready to give any assistance in my power towards the work of peace. I say the same to you.

"I do not believe that there is any difference of sentiment between you and me, *personally*, in our own minds upon independence, &c. &c. But we belong to different communities, and the right of judgment, and of consent and dissent, is vested in the community. Divide independence into six millions of shares, and you should have been heartily *welcome* to *my* share from the beginning of the war. Divide Canada into six millions of shares, I could find a better method of disposing of *my* share, than by offering it to France to abandon America. Divide the Rock of Gibraltar into six millions of pieces, I can only answer for one portion. Let Reason and Justice decide in any such case, as universal umpires between contending parties, and those, who wish well to the permanent peace of mankind, will not refuse to give and to receive equal justice.

"I agree with you, that the equitable and the philosophical principles of politics can alone form a solid foundation of permanent peace; and the contraries to them, though highly patronized by nations themselves, and their ministers, are no better than vulgar errors; but nations are slow to convictions from the personal arguments of individuals. They are 'jealous in honor, seeking the *bubble reputation* even in the cannon's mouth.' But until a confirmed millennium, founded upon wiser principles, shall be generally established, the *reputation* of nations is not merely a *bubble*. It forms their real security.

"To apply all this, in one word, let all nations agree, with one accord, to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, or give me wooden walls to Great Britain! I have nothing further to add. My reason for writing this was just to communicate to you in what position I had delivered over my conferences and arguments with the late ministry into the hands of the present. And I will conclude with your own words, may

God send us all more wisdom. I am ever, most affectionately, yours, &c.

"D. HARTLEY."

"P. S. *May 17th.* Since writing the above, I have likewise left a copy of the enclosed preliminaries with Lord Shelburne."

PRELIMINARIES.

"May, 1782.

"1. That the British troops shall be withdrawn from the Thirteen Provinces of North America, and a truce made between Great Britain and the said Provinces, for years. (Suppose ten or twenty years.)

"2. That a negotiation for peace shall *bonâ fide* be opened between Great Britain and the allies of America.

"3. If the proposed negotiation between Great Britain and the allies of America should not succeed so far as to produce peace, but that war should continue between the said parties, that America should act, and be treated, as a neutral nation.

"4. That, whenever peace shall take place between Great Britain and the allies of America, the truce between Great Britain and America shall be converted into a perpetual peace, the independence of America shall be admitted and guaranteed by Great Britain, and a commercial treaty settled between them.

"5. That these propositions shall be made to the court of France, for communication to the American Commissioners, and for an answer to the court of Great Britain."

The same day Mr. Grenville visited me. He acquainted me that his courier was returned, and had brought him full powers in form to treat for a peace *with France and her allies.* That he had been at Versailles, and had shown his power to M. de Vergennes, and left a copy with him. That

he had also a letter of credence, which he was not to deliver till France should think fit to send a minister of the same kind to London; that M. de Vergennes had told him, that he would lay it before the King, and had desired to see him again on Wednesday. That Mr. Oswald had arrived in London, about an hour before the courier came away. That Mr. Fox in his letter had charged him to thank me for that which I had written, and to tell me, that he hoped I would never forget, that he and I were of the same country.

I answered, that I should always esteem it an honor to be owned as a countryman of Mr. Fox. He had requested me, at our last interview, that, if I saw no impropriety in doing it, I would favor him with a sight of the treaty of alliance between France and America. I acquainted him that it was printed, but that if he could not readily meet with a copy, I would have one written for him. And, as he had not been able to find one, I this day gave it to him.

He lent me a London gazette, containing Admiral Rodney's account of his victory over M. de Grasse, and the accounts of other successes in the East Indies, assuring me, however, that these events made not the least change in the sincere desire of his court to treat for peace.

In the afternoon the Marquis de Lafayette called upon me. I acquainted him with what Mr. Grenville had told me respecting the credential letter, and the expectation that a person on the part of this court would be sent to London with a commission similar to his. The Marquis told me, he was on his way to Versailles, and should see M. de Vergennes. We concluded, that it would now be proper for him to make the proposition we had before talked of, that he should be the person employed in that service.

On Monday, the 27th, I received a letter from Mr. Jay, dated the 8th, acquainting me, that he had received mine of the 21st and 22d past, and had concluded to set out for Paris about the 19th, so that he may be expected in a few days.

I dined this day with Count d'Estaing, and a number of brave marine officers, that he had invited. We were all a little dejected with the news. I mentioned, by way of encouragement, the observation of the Turkish bashaw, who was taken with his fleet at Lepanto by the Venetians. "Ships," says he, "are like my master's beard; you may cut it, but it will grow again. He has cut off from your government all the Morea, which is like a limb, which you will never recover." And his words proved true.

On Tuesday I dined at Versailles with some friends, so was not at home when the Marquis de Lafayette called to acquaint me, that M. de Vergennes informed him, that the full power received by Mr. Grenville from London, and communicated by him, related to France only. The Marquis left for me this information, which I could not understand. On Wednesday I was at court, and saw the copy of the power. It appeared full with regard to treating with France, but mentioned not a word of her allies. And, as M. de Vergennes had explicitly and constantly, from the beginning, declared to the several messengers, Mr. Forth, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Grenville, that France could only treat in concert with her allies, and it had in consequence been declared on the part of the British ministry, that they consented to treat for a general peace, and at Paris, the sending this partial power seemed to be insidious, and a mere invention to occasion delay, the late disasters to the French fleet having probably given the court of England fresh courage and other views.

M. de Vergennes said he should see Mr. Grenville on Thursday, and would speak his mind to him on the subject very plainly. "They want," said he, "to treat with us for you, but this the King will not agree to. He thinks it not consistent with the dignity of your state. You will treat for yourselves; and every one of the powers at war with England will make its own treaty. All that is necessary for our common security is, that the treaties go hand in hand, and are signed all on the same day."

Prince Bariatinski, the Russian ambassador, was particularly civil to me this day at court, apologized for what passed relating to the visit, expressed himself extremely sensible of my friendship in covering the affair, which might have occasioned him very disagreeable consequences, &c. The Count du Nord came to M. de Vergennes, while we were drinking coffee, after dinner. He appears lively and active, with a sensible, spirited countenance. There was an opera that night for his entertainment. The house being richly finished with abundance of carving and gilding, well illuminated with wax tapers, and the company all superbly dressed, many of the men in cloth of tissue, and the ladies sparkling with diamonds, formed altogether the most splendid spectacle my eyes ever beheld.

I had some little conference to-day with Messrs. Berkenrode, Vanderpierre, and Boeris, the ambassador of Holland and the agents of the Dutch East India Company. They informed me, that the second letter of Mr. Fox to the mediating minister of Russia, proposing a separate peace with Holland, made no more impression than the first, and no peace would be made but in concurrence with France.

The Swedish minister told me he expected orders from his court relative to a treaty, &c.

I had, at our last interview, given Mr. Grenville a rendezvous for Saturday morning, and, having some other engagements for Thursday and Friday, though I wished to speak with him on the subject of his power, I did not go to him, but waited his coming to me on Saturday. On Friday, May 31st, Mr. Oswald called on me, being just returned, and brought me the following letter from David Hartley, and two letters from Lord Shelburne, the first of which had been written before his arrival.

FROM DAVID HARTLEY TO B. FRANKLIN.

"London, 25 May, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Yours of the 13th instant I received by Mr. Oswald. I did not doubt but that the news of a general and absolute release of the American prisoners, which Lord Shelburne was so good as to communicate to me, in answer to that part of your letter of the 5th of April, in which you speak so pathetically of *sweet reconciliation*, would give you much sincere and heartfelt pleasure. God send, that it may be the happy omen of final *reconciliation* and *durable peace*. I should be very happy to hear that good news from you, and in any way to contribute to it. Having on that subject communicated the preliminaries, dated May, 1782, to Lord Shelburne, you may be assured that I have no reservations upon that head respecting America, in any circumstances or condition whatever. You know all my thoughts upon that subject, and the principles upon which they are founded, and, therefore, that they are not changeable.

"It would give me the greatest pleasure, if I could hope for any opportunity of seeing you. I could say many things, which are otherwise incommunicable, and which perhaps would contribute to facilitate the road to peace. I think I see in many parts much matter to work with, out of which

a peace, honorable to all parties and upon durable principles, might be established. *No degrading or mortifying conditions to shorten peace and rekindle war.* Perhaps I might not say too much if I were to add, that simply the adoption of *reason* among nations, and the mere rectification of obsolete and gothic absurdities, which carry no gratification, would afford a fund of remuneration to all parties for renouncing those objects of mutual contention, which, *in the eye of reason,* are no better than creatures of passion, jealousy, and false pride. Until the principles of *reason* and equity shall be adopted in national transactions, peace will not be durable amongst men.

"These are reflections general to all nations. As to the mutual concerns between Great Britain and North America, *reconciliation* is the touchstone to prove those hearts, which are without alloy. If I can be of any assistance to you, in any communications or explanations conducive to peace, you may command my utmost services. Even if a French minister were to overhear such an offer, let him not take it in jealous part. Zealously and affectionately attached to my own country and to America, I am nevertheless most perfectly of accord with you, that justice and honor should be observed towards all nations. Mr. Oswald will do me the favor to convey this to you. I heartily wish him success in his pacific embassy. Yours ever, most affectionately,

"D. HARTLEY."

FROM THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Whitehall, 21 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I am honored with your letter of the 10th instant, and am very glad to find that the conduct, which the King has empowered me to observe towards Mr. Laurens, and the American prisoners, has given you pleasure. I have signi-

fied to Mr. Oswald his Majesty's pleasure, that he shall continue at Paris till he receives orders from hence to return. In the present state of this business, there is nothing for me to add, but my sincere wishes for a happy issue, and to repeat my assurances, that nothing shall be wanting on my part which can contribute to it. I have the honor to be, with very great regard,

"SHELBURNE."*

* As the Earl of Shelburne was the principal minister concerned in negotiating the peace, and as it was a very important event in his official life, he retained among his private papers a copy of the entire correspondence between the ministry and Mr. Oswald, the British commissioner in Paris, during the whole of the negotiation. This valuable collection is now in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne, by whose courtesy and liberality I was favored with a complete transcript of it, while I was pursuing my researches for materials relating to American history in the public offices of London; with permission to make such use of any parts of the correspondence, as would conduce to historical truth, or help to explain the transactions to which it relates. In Mr. Oswald's letters, he gives copious accounts of his conversations with Dr. Franklin, and the other commissioners, on the subject of the treaty; from which the views of the parties and their modes of proceeding are more or less clearly ascertained. These letters bear so directly on many points in Dr. Franklin's correspondence, while the negotiation was in progress, that I shall add in the notes a few extracts from them as occasions may offer, premising the above statement merely for the reader's information, as to their origin and authenticity.

From the Earl of Shelburne to Richard Oswald.—"I am sorry to observe, that the French minister gives very little reason to expect that his court is likely to make good their professions, which they made, through so many channels, of a desire of peace upon terms becoming this country to accept, upon the strength of which Dr. Franklin invited the present negotiation. I have that entire confidence in Dr. Franklin's integrity and strict honor, that, if the court of France have other views, and that they have been throwing out false lures to support the appearance of moderation throughout Europe, and in the hope of misleading and the chance of dividing us, I am satisfied, that he must have been himself deceived; and, in such a case, I trust, that, if this shall be proved in the course of the present negotiation, he will consider himself and his constituents freed from the tie, which will appear to have been founded upon no ideas of common interest.

"We shall, however, I hope, speedily ascertain the real purposes of France by their conduct in the future progress of this negotiation, which the King

FROM THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Whitehall, 25 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I have the honor to receive your letter of the 13th of May, by Mr. Oswald. It gives me great pleasure to find my opinion of the moderation, prudence, and judgment of that gentleman confirmed by your concurrence. For I am glad to assure you, that we likewise concur in hoping that those qualities may enable him to contribute to the speedy conclusion of a peace, and such a peace as may be firm and long lasting. In that hope, he has the King's orders to return immediately to Paris, and you will find him, I trust, properly instructed to coöperate in so desirable an object. I have the honor to be, &c.

"SHELBURNE."

I had not then time to converse much with Mr. Oswald, and he promised to come and breakfast with me on Monday.

Saturday, June 5th. Mr. Grenville came, according to appointment. Our conversation began by my acquainting him, that I had seen the Count de Vergennes, and had perused the copy left with him of the power to treat. That, after what he, Mr. Grenville, told me of its being to treat with France *and her allies*, I was a little surprised to find in it no mention of the allies, and that it was only to treat with the King of France and his ministers; that, at Ver-

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will not suffer to go into any length. In the mean time, you will govern your conversation with the American Commissioners with all possible prudence, collecting their sentiments, and every other information, which you conceive may hereafter prove useful; and I have his Majesty's commands to acquaint you, that it is his pleasure you should continue at Paris, till you receive his orders to return, of which you will acquaint Dr. Franklin and Count de Vergennes."—*Whitehall, May 21st, MS. Letter.*—ED.

sailles, there was some suspicion of its being intended to occasion delay; the professed desire of a speedy peace being, perhaps, abated in the British court since its late successes; but that I imagined the words relating to the allies might have been accidentally omitted in transcribing, or that, perhaps, he had a special power to treat with us distinct from the other.

He answered, that the copy was right, and that he had no such power in form, but that his instructions were full to that purpose, and that he was sure the ministers had no desire of delay, nor any of excluding us from the treaty, since the greatest part of those instructions related to treating with me. That, to convince me of this sincerity of his court respecting us, he would acquaint me with one of his instructions, though, perhaps, the doing it now was premature, and therefore a little inconsistent with the character of a politician, but he had that confidence in me that he should not hesitate to inform me (though he wished that at present it should go no further,) *he was instructed to acknowledge the independence of America, previous to the commencement of the treaty.* And he said he could only account for the omission of America in the POWER, by supposing that it was an old official form copied from that given to Mr. Stanley, when he came over hither before the last peace. Mr. Grenville added, that he had, immediately after his interview with the Count de Vergennes, despatched a courier to London, and hoped, that with his return the difficulty would be removed. That he was perfectly assured their late success had made no change in the disposition of his court to peace, and that he had more reason than the Court de Vergennes to complain of delays, since five days were spent before he could obtain a passport for his courier,

and then it was not to go and return by way of Calais, but to go by Ostend, which would occasion a delay of five days longer. Mr. Grenville then spoke much of the high opinion the present ministry had of me, and their great esteem for me, their desire of a perfect reconciliation between the two countries, and the firm and general belief in England, that no man was so capable as myself of proposing the proper means of bringing about such a reconciliation; adding that, if the old ministers had formerly been too little attentive to my counsels, the present were very differently disposed, and he hoped that in treating with them, I would totally forget their predecessors.

The time has been when such flattering language, as from great men, might have made me vainer, and had more effect on my conduct, than it can at present, when I find myself so near the end of life as to esteem lightly all personal interests and concerns, except that of maintaining to the last, and leaving behind me the tolerably good character I have hitherto supported.

Mr. Grenville then discoursed of our resolution not to treat without our allies. "This," says he, "can only properly relate to France, with whom you have a treaty of alliance, but you have none with Spain, you have none with Holland. If Spain and Holland, and even if France should insist on unreasonable terms of advantage to themselves, after you have obtained all you want, and are satisfied, can it be right that America should be dragged on in a war for their interest only?" He stated this matter in various lights and pressed it earnestly.

I resolved, from various reasons, to evade the discussion, therefore answered, that the intended treaty not being yet begun, it appeared unnecessary to enter at present into

considerations of that kind. The preliminaries being once settled and the treaty commenced, if any of the other powers should make extravagant demands on England, and insist on our continuing the war till those were complied with, it would then be time enough to consider what our obligations were, and how far they extended. The first thing necessary was for him to procure the full powers, the next for us to assemble the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent parties, and then propositions might be mutually made, received, considered, answered, or agreed to. In the mean time I would just mention to him, that, though we were yet under no obligations to Spain by treaty, we were under obligations of gratitude for the assistance she had afforded us; and as Mr. Adams had some weeks since commenced a treaty in Holland, the terms of which I was not yet acquainted with, I knew not but that we might have already some alliance and obligations contracted there. And perhaps we ought, however, to have some consideration for Holland on this account, that it was in vengeance for the friendly disposition shown by some of her people to make a treaty of commerce with us, that England had declared the war against her.

He said, it would be hard upon England, if, having given reasonable satisfaction to one or two of her enemies, she could not have peace with those till she had complied with whatever the others might demand, however unreasonable, for so she might be obliged to pay for every article fourfold. I observed, that when she made her propositions, the more advantageous they were to each, the more it would be the interest of each to prevail with the others to accept those offered to them. We then spoke of the reconciliation; but, his full power not being yet come, I chose to defer

entering upon that subject at present. I told him, I had thoughts of putting down in writing the particulars that I judged would conduce to that end, and of adding my reasons, that this required a little time, and I had been hindered by accidents; which was true, for I had begun to write, but had postponed it on account of his defective power to treat. But I promised to finish it as soon as possible. He pressed me earnestly to do it, saying, an expression of mine in a former conversation, that there still remained *roots of good will* in America towards England, which if properly taken care of might produce a reconciliation, had made a great impression on his mind, and given him infinite pleasure, and he hoped I would not neglect furnishing him with the information of what would be necessary to nourish those *roots*, and could assure me, that my advice would be greatly regarded.

Mr. Grenville had shown me at our last interview a letter from the Duke of Richmond to him, requesting him to prevail with me to disengage a Captain McLeod, of the artillery, from his parole, the Duke's brother, Lord George Lenox, being appointed to the command of Portsmouth, and desiring to have him as his aid-de-camp. I had promised to consider it, and this morning I sent him the following letter.

TO MR. GRENVILLE.

"Passy, 31 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"I do not find, that I have any express authority to absolve a parole given by an English officer in America; but, desirous of complying with a request of the Duke of Richmond, as far as may be in my power, and being confident, that the Congress will be pleased with whatever may

oblige a personage they so much respect, I do hereby consent, that Captain McLeod serve in his military capacity in England only, till the pleasure of the Congress is known, to whom I will write immediately, and who, I make no doubt, will discharge him entirely. I have the honor to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

America had been constantly befriended in Parliament by the Duke of Richmond, and I believed the Congress would not be displeased, that this opportunity was taken of obliging him, and that they would by their approbation supply the deficiency of my power. Besides, I could not well refuse it, after what had passed between Mr. Laurens and me, and what I had promised to do for that gentleman.

Sunday, June 2d. The Marquis de Lafayette called and dined with me. He is uneasy about the delay, as he cannot resolve concerning his voyage to America, till some certainty appears of there being a treaty or no treaty. This day I wrote the following letter to Mr. Adams.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

"Passy, 2 June, 1782.

"SIR,

"Since mine of May 8th, I have not had any thing material to communicate to your Excellency. Mr. Grenville indeed arrived just after I had despatched that letter, and I introduced him to M. de Vergennes, but, as his mission seemed only a repetition of that by Mr. Oswald, the same declaration of the King of England's sincere desire of peace, and willingness to treat at Paris, which were answered by the same declarations of the good dispositions of this court, and that it could not treat without

the concurrence of its allies, I omitted writing till something should be produced from a kind of agreement, that M. de Vergennes would acquaint Spain and Holland with the overture, and Mr. Grenville would write for full powers to treat and make propositions; nothing of importance being in the mean time to be transacted.

"Mr. Grenville accordingly despatched a messenger for London, who returned in about twelve days. Mr. Grenville called on me, after having been at Versailles, and acquainted me, that he had received the power, and had left a copy of it with M. de Vergennes, and that he was thereby authorized to treat with France and her *allies*. The next time I went to Versailles, I desired to see that copy, and was surprised to find in it no mention of the allies of France, or any one of them, and, on speaking with M. de Vergennes about it, I found he began to look upon the whole as a piece of artifice to amuse us, and gain time; since he had uniformly declared to every agent who had appeared there, viz. to Forth, Oswald, and Grenville, that the King would not treat without the concurrence of his allies, and yet England had given a power to treat with France only, which showed she did not intend to treat at all, but meant to continue the war.

"I had not till yesterday an opportunity of talking with Mr. Grenville on the subject, and expressing my wonder, that, after what he told me, there should be no mention made of our States in his commission; he could not explain this to my satisfaction, but said, he believed the omission was occasioned by their copying an old commission given to Mr. Stanley at the last treaty of peace, for he was sure the intention was, that he should treat with us, his instructions being fully to that purpose. I acquainted him,

that I thought a special commission was necessary, without which we could not treat with him. I imagine, that there is a reluctance in their King to take this first step, as the giving such a commission would itself be a kind of acknowledgment of our independence. Their late success against Count de Grasse may also have given them hopes, that, by delay and more successes, they may make that acknowledgment and a peace less necessary.

"Mr. Grenville has written to his court for further instructions. We shall see what the return of his courier will produce. If full power to treat with each of the powers at war against England does not appear, I imagine the negotiation will be broken off. Mr. Grenville, in his conversation with me, insists much on our being under no engagements not to make a peace without Holland. I have answered him, that I know not but that you may have entered into some, and if there should be none, a general pacification, made at the same time, would be best for us all, and that I believe neither Holland nor we could be prevailed on to abandon our friends. What happens further shall be immediately communicated.

"Be pleased to present my respects to Mr. Laurens, to whom I wrote some days since. Mr. Jay, I suppose, is on his way hither. With great respect, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

On Monday the 3d, Mr. Oswald came according to appointment. He told me, he had seen and had conversations with Lord Shelburne, Lord Rockingham, and Mr. Fox. That their desire of peace continued uniformly the same, though he thought some of them were a little too much elated with the late victory in the West Indies; and

when, observing his coolness, they asked him, if he did not think it a very good thing; "yes," said he, "if you do not rate it too high." He went on with the utmost frankness to tell me, that the peace was absolutely necessary for them. That the nation had been foolishly involved in four wars, and could no longer raise money to carry them on, so that if they continued, it would be absolutely necessary for them to stop payment of the interest money on the funds, which would ruin their future credit. He spoke of stopping on all sums above one thousand pounds, and continuing to pay on those below, because the great sums belonged to the rich, who could better bear the delay of their interest, and the smaller sums to poorer persons, who would be more hurt, and make more clamor, and that the rich might be quieted by promising them interest upon their interest. All this looked as if the matter had been seriously thought on.

Mr. Oswald has an air of great simplicity and honesty, yet I could hardly take this to be merely a weak confession of their deplorable state, and thought it might be rather intended as a kind of intimidation, by showing us that they had still that resource in their power, which he said would furnish five millions a year. But, he added, our enemies may now do what they please with us; *they have the ball at their foot*, was his expression, and we hope they will show their moderation and magnanimity. He then repeatedly mentioned the great esteem the ministers had for me, that they, with all the considerate people of England, looked to, and depended on me for the means of extricating the nation from its present desperate situation; and that, perhaps, no single man had ever in his hands an opportunity of doing so much good as I had at this present time, with

much more to that purpose. He then showed me a letter to him from Lord Shelburne, partly, I suppose, that I might see his Lordship's opinion of me, which, as it has some relation to the negotiation, is here inserted. He left it with me, requesting that I would communicate it to Mr. Walpole.

FROM THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO RICHARD OSWALD.

"Whitehall, 21 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"It has reached me, that Mr. Walpole esteems himself much injured by your going to Paris, and that he conceives it was a measure of mine, intended to take the present negotiation with the court of France out of his hands, which he conceives to have been previously commenced through his channel, by Mr. Fox. I must desire that you will have the goodness to call upon Mr. Walpole, and explain to him distinctly, how very little foundation there is for so unjust a suspicion, as I knew of no such intercourse. Mr. Fox declares he considered what had passed between him and Mr. Walpole, of a mere private nature, not sufficiently material to mention to the King or the cabinet, and will write to Mr. Walpole to explain this distinctly to him.

"But if you find the least suspicion of this kind has reached Dr. Franklin, or the Count de Vergennes, I desire this matter may be clearly explained to both. I have too much friendship for Dr. Franklin, and too much respect for the character of the Count de Vergennes, with which I am perfectly acquainted, to be so indifferent to the good opinion of either, as to suffer them to believe me capable of an intrigue, where I have both professed and observed a direct opposite course of conduct. In truth, I hold it in such perfect contempt, that, however proud I may be to

serve the King in my present situation, or in any other, and however anxious I may be to serve my country, I should not hesitate a moment about retiring from any situation which required such services. But I must do the King the justice to say, that his Majesty abhors them, and I need not tell you, that it is my fixed principle, that no country in any moment can be advantaged by them. I am, with great truth and regard, &c.

"SHELBURNE."

In speaking further of the ministry's opinion of the great service it might be in my power to render, Mr. Oswald said, he had told them in one of his conversations, that nothing was to be expected of me but consistency, nothing unsuitable to my character, or inconsistent with my duty to my country. I did not ask him the particular occasion of his saying this, but thought it looked a little as if something inconsistent with my duty had been talked of or proposed. Mr. Oswald also gave me a copy of a paper of memorandums, written by Lord Shelburne, viz.

"1. That I am ready to correspond more particularly with Dr. Franklin, if wished.

"2. That the *Enabling Act* is passing, with the insertion of Commissioners recommended by Mr. Oswald; and, on our part, commissioners will be named, or any character given to Mr. Oswald, which Dr. Franklin and he may judge conducive to a final settlement of things between Great Britain and America; which Dr. Franklin very properly says, requires to be treated in a very different manner from the peace between Great Britain and France, who have always been at enmity with each other.

"3. That an establishment for the loyalists must always be on Mr. Oswald's mind, as it is uppermost in Lord Shel-

burne's, besides other steps in their favor to influence the several States to agree to a fair restoration or compensation for whatever confiscations have taken place.

"4. To give Lord Shelburne's letter about Mr. Walpole to Dr. Franklin."

On perusing this paper, I recollected that a bill had been some time since proposed in Parliament, *To enable his Majesty to conclude a Peace or Truce with the revolted Provinces in America*, which I supposed to be the *Enabling Bill* mentioned, that had hitherto slept; and, not having been passed, was perhaps the true reason why the colonies were not mentioned in Mr. Grenville's commission. Mr. Oswald thought it likely, and said, that the words, "insertion of Commissioners, recommended by Mr. Oswald," related to his advising an express mention in the bill of the Commissioners appointed by Congress to treat of peace, instead of the vague denomination of *any person or persons, &c.* in the first draft of the bill.

As to the loyalists, I repeated what I had said to him when first here, that their estates had been confiscated by the laws made in particular States where the delinquents had resided, and not by any law of Congress, who, indeed, had no power, either to make such laws or to repeal them, or to dispense with them, and, therefore, could give no power to their Commissioners to treat of a restoration for those people; that it was an affair appertaining to each State. That if there were justice in compensating them, it must be due from England rather than America; but, in my opinion, England was not under any very great obligations to them, since it was by their misrepresentations and bad counsels, she had been drawn into this miserable war. And that if an account was to be brought against us for

their losses, we should more than balance it by an account of the ravages they had committed all along the coasts of America.

Mr. Oswald agreed to the reasonableness of all this, and said he had, before he came away, told the ministers, that he thought no recompense to those people was to be expected from us; that he had also, in consequence of our former conversation on that subject, given it as his opinion, that Canada should be given up to the United States, as it would prevent the occasions of future difference, and as the government of such a country was worth nothing, and of no importance, if they could have there a free commerce; that the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, though they spoke reservedly, did not seem very averse to it, but that Mr. Fox appeared to be startled at the proposition. He was, however, not without hopes that it would be agreed to.

We now came to another article of the note, viz. "on our part commissioners will be named, or any character given to Mr. Oswald, which Dr. Franklin and he may judge conducive to a final settlement of things between Great Britain and America."

This he said was left entirely to me, for he had no will in the affair; he did not desire to be further concerned, than to see it *in train*, he had no personal views either of honor or profit. He had now seen and conversed with Mr. Grenville, thought him a very sensible young gentleman, and very capable of the business; he did not, therefore, see any further occasion there was for himself; but if I thought otherwise, and conceived he might be further useful, he was content to give his time and service, in any character or manner I should think proper. I said, his knowledge of

America; where he had lived, and with every part of which, and of its commerce and circumstances, he was well acquainted, made me think, that, in persuading the ministry to things reasonable relating to that country, he could speak or write with more weight than Mr. Grenville, and, therefore, I wished him to continue in the service; and I asked him, whether he would like to be joined in a general commission for treating with all the powers at war with England, or to have a special commission to himself for treating with America only. He said, he did not choose to be concerned in treaty with the foreign powers, for he was not sufficiently a master of their affairs, or of the French language, which, probably, would be used in treating; if, therefore, he accepted of any commission, it should be that of treating with America. I told him I would write to Lord Shelburne on the subject; but Mr. Grenville having some time since despatched a courier, partly on account of the commission, who was not yet returned, I thought it well to wait a few days, till we could see what answer he would bring, or what measures were taken. This he approved of.

The truth is, he appears so good and so reasonable a man, that, though I have no objection to Mr. Grenville, I should be loth to lose Mr. Oswald. He seems to have nothing at heart but the good of mankind, and putting a stop to mischief; the other, a young statesman, may be supposed to have naturally a little ambition of recommending himself as an able negotiator.

In the afternoon, M. Boeris, of Holland, called on me, and acquainted me, that the answer had not yet been given to the last memorial from Russia, relating to the mediation; but it was thought it would be in respectful terms, to thank her Imperial Majesty for her kind offers, and to represent

the propriety of their connexion with France in endeavours to obtain a general peace, and that they conceived it would be still more glorious for her Majesty to employ her influence in procuring a general, than a particular pacification. M. Boeris further informed me, that they were not well satisfied in Holland with the conduct of the Russian court, and suspected views of continuing the war for particular purposes.

Tuesday, June 4th. I have received another packet from Mr. Hartley. It consisted of duplicates of former letters and papers already inserted, and contained nothing new but the following letter from Colonel Hartley, his brother.

FROM W. H. HARTLEY TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Soho Square, 24 May, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is with the greatest pleasure I take up my pen to acknowledge your remembrance of me in yours to my brother, and to thank you for those expressions of regard which I can assure you are mutual. My brother has desired me to copy some letters and papers, by way of sending you duplicates. I am particularly happy at the employment, because the greatest object of my parliamentary life has been to coöperate with him in his endeavours to put a period to this destructive war, and forward the blessed work of peace. I hope to see him again in that situation, where he can so well serve his country with credit to himself; and while I have the honor of being in Parliament, my attention will be continued to promote the effects, which will naturally flow from those principles of freedom and universal philanthropy you have both so much supported. While I copy his words, my own feelings and judgment are truly in unison, and I have but to add the most ardent wish, that peace and

happiness may crown the honest endeavours towards so desirable an end. I am, dear Sir, with the greatest respect and esteem, yours sincerely,

"W. H. HARTLEY."

Wednesday, June 5th. Mr. Oswald called again to acquaint me, that Lord Cornwallis, being very anxious to be discharged from his parole as soon as possible, had sent a Major Ross hither to solicit it, supposing Mr. Laurens might be here with me. Mr. Oswald told me, what I had not heard before, that Mr. Laurens, while prisoner in the Tower, had proposed obtaining the discharge of Lord Cornwallis in exchange for himself, and had promised to use his utmost endeavours to that purpose, in case he was set at liberty, not doubting of the success. I communicated to Mr. Oswald what had already passed between Mr. Laurens and me, respecting Lord Cornwallis, which appears in the preceding letters; and told him I should have made less difficulty about the discharge of his parole, if Mr. Laurens had informed me of his being set at liberty in consequence of such an offer and promise; and I wished him to state this in a letter to me, that it might appear for my justification in what I might, with Mr. Laurens, do in the affair, and that he would procure for me from Major Ross a copy of the parole, that I might be better acquainted with the nature of it. He accordingly in the afternoon sent me the following letter.

FROM RICHARD OSWALD TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Paris, 5 June, 1782.

"SIR,

"While Mr. Laurens was under confinement in England, he promised, that, on condition of his being liberated upon

his parole, he would apply to you for an exchange in favor of Lord Cornwallis, by a discharge of his Lordship's granted upon the surrender of his garrison at the village of York in Virginia; and, in case of your being under any difficulty in making such exchange, he undertook to write to the Congress, and to request it of that assembly, making no doubt of obtaining a favorable answer, without loss of time.

"This proposal, signed by Mr. Laurens's hand, I carried and delivered, I think, in the month of December last, to his Majesty's then secretaries of state, which was duly attended to; and, in consequence thereof, Mr. Laurens was soon after set at full liberty. And though not a prisoner under parole, yet it is to be hoped, a variation in the mode of discharge will not be supposed of any essential difference.

"And with respect to Mr. Laurens, I am satisfied he will consider himself as much interested in the success of this application, as if his own discharge had been obtained under the form, as proposed by the representation, which I delivered to the secretaries of state, and, I make no doubt, will sincerely join my Lord Cornwallis in an acknowledgment of your favor and good offices, in granting his Lordship a full discharge of his parole above mentioned. I have the honor to be, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"RICHARD OSWALD."

"P. S. Major Ross has got no copy of Lord Cornwallis's parole. He says it was in the common form, as in like cases.

"Since writing the above, I recollect I was under a mistake, as if the proposal of exchange came first from Mr. Laurens; whereas, it was made by his Majesty's secretaries of state to me, that Mr. Laurens should endeavour to procure the exchange of Lord Cornwallis, so as to be discharged himself. Which proposal I carried to Mr. Laurens, and

had from him the obligation above mentioned, upon which the mode of his discharge was settled.

"R. O."

To this I wrote the following answer.

TO RICHARD OSWALD.

"Passy, 6 June, 1782.

"SIR,

"I received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me, respecting the parole of Lord Cornwallis. You are acquainted with what I wrote some time since to Mr. Laurens. To-morrow is post day from Holland, when possibly I may receive an answer, with a paper drawn up by him for the purpose of discharging that parole, to be signed by us jointly. I suppose the staying at Paris another day will not be very inconvenient to Major Ross, and, if I do not hear to-morrow from Mr. Laurens, I will immediately, in compliance with your request, do what I can towards the liberation of Lord Cornwallis. I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Friday, June 7th. Major Ross called upon me, to thank me for the favorable intentions I had expressed in my letter to Mr. Oswald, respecting Lord Cornwallis, and to assure me, that his Lordship would for ever remember it with gratitude, &c. I told him it was our duty to alleviate, as much as we could, the calamities of war; that I expected letters from Mr. Laurens, relating to the affair, after the receipt of which I would immediately complete it. Or, if I did not hear from Mr. Laurens, I would speak to the Marquis de Lafayette, get his approbation, and finish it without further delay.

Saturday, June 8th. I received some newspapers from England, in one of which is the following paragraph.

From the London Evening Post, of May 30th, 1782.

"If report on the spot speak truth, Mr. Grenville, in his first visit to Dr. Franklin, gained a considerable point of information, as to the powers America had retained for treating *separately* with Great Britain, in case her claims, or demands, were granted.

"The treaty of February 6th, 1778, was made the basis of this conversation; and, by the spirit and meaning of this treaty, there is no obligation on America not to treat separately for peace, after she is assured England will grant her independence, and a free commerce with all the world.

"The first article of that treaty engages America and France to be bound to each other, as long as *circumstances* may require; therefore, the granting America all she asks of England is breaking the bond, by which the *circumstances* may bind America to France.

"The second article says, the meaning and direct end of the alliance is, to insure the freedom and independence of America. Surely, then, when freedom and independence are allowed by Britain, America may, or may not, as she chooses, put an end to the present war between England and America, and leave France to war on through all her mad projects of reducing the power and greatness of England, while America feels herself possessed of what she wishes.

"By the eighth article of the treaty, neither France nor America can conclude peace without the assent of the other; and they engage not to lay down their arms until the independence of America is acknowledged, but this article does not exclude America from entering into a separate treaty for peace with England, and evinces, more strongly than

the former articles, that America may enter into a separate treaty with England, when she is convinced that England has insured to her *all that she can reasonably ask.*"

I conjecture that this must be an extract from a letter of Mr. Grenville's; but it carries an appearance as if he and I had agreed in these imaginary discourses, of America's being at liberty to make peace without France, and whereas my whole discourse, in the strongest terms, declared our determinations to the contrary, and the impossibility of our acting, not only contrary to the treaty, but the duties of gratitude and honor, of which nothing is mentioned. This young negotiator seems to value himself on having obtained from me a copy of the treaty. I gave it to him freely, at his request, it being not so much a secret as he imagined, having been printed, first in all the American papers soon after it was made, then at London in Almon's *Remembrancer*, which I wonder he did not know; and afterwards in a collection of the American *Constitutions*, published by order of Congress. As such imperfect accounts of our conversations find their way into the English papers, I must speak to this gentleman of its impropriety.

Sunday, June 9th. Dr. Bancroft being intimately acquainted with Mr. Walpole, I this day gave him Lord Shelburne's letter to Mr. Oswald, requesting he would communicate it to that gentleman. Dr. Bancroft said, it was believed both Russia and the Emperor wish the continuance of the war, and aimed at procuring for England a peace with Holland, that England might be better able to continue it against France and Spain.

The Marquis de Lafayette having proposed to call on me to-day, I kept back the discharge of Lord Cornwallis, which

was written and ready, desiring to have his approbation of it, as he had in a former conversation advised it. He did not come, but late in the evening sent me a note, acquainting me, that he had been prevented, by accompanying the Great Duke to the review, but would breakfast with me tomorrow morning.

This day I received a letter from Mr. Dana, dated at St. Petersburgh, April 29th, in which is the following passage. "We yesterday received the news, that the States-General had, on the 19th of this month, (N. S.) acknowledged the independence of the United States. This event gave a shock here, and is not well received, as they at least profess to have flattered themselves, that the mediation would have prevented it, and otherwise brought on a partial peace between Britain and Holland. This resentment, I believe, will not be productive of any ill consequences to the Dutch republic." It is true, that while the war continues, Russia feels a greater demand for the naval stores, and perhaps at a higher price. But is it possible, that, for such petty interests, mankind can wish to see their neighbours destroy each other? Or has the project, lately talked of, some foundation, that Russia and the Emperor intend driving the Turks out of Europe, and do they therefore wish to see France and England so weakened, as to be unable to assist those people?

Monday, June 10th. The Marquis de Lafayette did not come till between eleven and twelve. He brought with him Major Ross. After breakfast, he told me (Major Ross being gone into another room), that he had seen Mr. Grenville lately, who asked him when he should go to America. That he had answered, "I have stayed here longer than I should otherwise have done, that I might see whether we

were to have peace or war; but, as I see that the expectation of peace is a joke, and that you only amuse us without any real intention of treating, I think to stay no longer, but set out in a few days." On which Mr. Grenville assured him that it was no joke, that they were very sincere in their proposal of treating, and four or five days would convince the Marquis of it.

The Marquis then spoke to me about a request of Major Ross's in behalf of himself, Lord Chewton, a lieutenant-colonel, and Lieutenant Haldane, who were aids-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis, that they too might be set at liberty with him. I told the Marquis, that he was better acquainted with the custom in such cases than I, and being himself one of the generals, to whom their parole had been given, he had more right to discharge it than I had, and that, if he judged it a thing proper to be done, I wished him to do it. He went into the bureau, saying he would write something, which he accordingly did, but it was not, as I expected, a discharge that he was to sign, it was for me to sign. And the Major not liking that which I had drawn for Lord Cornwallis, because there was a clause in it, reserving to Congress the approbation or disallowance of my act, went away without taking it. Upon which I the next morning wrote the following to Mr. Oswald.

TO RICHARD OSWALD.

"Passy, 11 June, 1782.

"SIR,

"I did intend to have waited on you this morning to inquire after your health, and deliver the enclosed paper relating to the parole of Lord Cornwallis, but being obliged to go to Versailles, I must postpone my visit till to-morrow.

"I do not conceive that I have any authority in virtue of my office here, to absolve that parole in any degree; I have, therefore, endeavoured to found it as well as I could on the express power given me by Congress to exchange General Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens. A reservation is made of confirmation or disapprobation by Congress, not from any desire to restrain the entire liberty of that general, but because I think it decent and my duty to make such reservation, and that I might otherwise be blamed as assuming a power not given me, if I undertook to discharge absolutely a parole given to Congress, without any authority from them for so doing. With great esteem and respect, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

I have received no answer from Mr. Laurens. The following is the paper mentioned in the above letter.

The Discharge of Lord Cornwallis from his Parole.

"The Congress having, by a resolution of the 14th of June last, empowered me to offer an exchange of General Burgoyne for the Honorable Henry Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London, and whose liberty they much desire to obtain, which exchange, though proposed by me, according to the said resolution, had not been accepted or executed, when advice was received, that General Burgoyne was exchanged in virtue of another agreement; and Mr. Laurens thereupon having proposed another lieutenant-general, viz. Lord Cornwallis, as an exchange for himself, promising, that, if set at liberty, he would do his utmost to obtain a confirmation of that proposal; and Mr. Laurens being soon after discharged, and having since urged me earnestly, in several letters, to join with him in absolving the parole of that general, which appears to be a thing just and equitable in itself; and for the honor therefore of our

country, I do hereby, as far as in my power lies, in virtue of the above resolution, or otherwise, absolve and discharge the parole of Lord Cornwallis, given by him in Virginia; setting him at entire liberty to act in his civil or military capacity, until the pleasure of Congress shall be known, to whom is reserved the confirmation or disapprobation of this discharge, in case they have made, or shall intend to make, a different disposition.

"Given at Passy, this 9th day of June, 1782.

"B. FRANKLIN,

"*Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France.*"

I did not well comprehend the Major's conduct in refusing this paper. He was come express from London, to solicit the discharge of Lord Cornwallis's parole. He had said, that his Lordship was very anxious to obtain that discharge, being unhappy in his present situation. One of his objections to it was, that his Lordship, with such a limited discharge of his parole, could not enter into foreign service. He declared it was not his Lordship's intention to return to America. Yet he would not accept the paper, unless the reservation was omitted. I did not choose to make the alteration, and so he left it, not well pleased with me.

This day, *Tuesday, June 11th*, I was at Versailles, and had a good deal of conversation with M. de Rayneval, Secretary to the Council. I showed him the letters I had received by Mr. Oswald from Lord Shelburne, and related all the consequent conversation I had with Mr. Oswald. I related to him also the conversation I had had with Mr. Grenville. We concluded that the reason of his courier's not being returned, might be the formalities occasioning delay in passing the *Enabling Bill*.

I went down with him to the cabinet of Count de Vergennes, where all was repeated and explained. That minister seemed now to be almost persuaded, that the English court was sincere in its declarations of being desirous of peace. We spoke of all its attempts to separate us, and of the prudence of our holding together and treating in concert. I made one remark, that, as they had shown so strong a desire of disuniting us, by large offers to each particular power, plainly in the view of dealing more advantageously with the rest, and had reluctantly agreed to make a general treaty, it was possible, that, after making a peace with all, they might pick out one of us to make war with separately. Against which project I thought it would not be amiss, if, before the treaties of peace were signed, we who were at war against England should enter into another treaty, engaging ourselves, that in such a case we should again make it a common cause, and renew the general war; which he seemed to approve of. He read Lord Shelburne's letter relating to Mr. Walpole, said that gentleman had attempted to open a negotiation through the Marquis de Castries, who had told him he was come to the wrong house, and should go to Count de Vergennes; but he never had appeared; that he was an intriguer, knew many people about the court, and was accustomed to manage his affairs by hidden and roundabout ways; but, said he, "When people have any thing to propose, that relates to my employment, I think they should come directly to me; my cabinet is the place where such affairs are to be treated." On the whole he seemed rather pleased that Mr. Walpole had not come to him, appearing not to like him.

I learned that Mr. Jay had taken leave, on the 7th past, of the Spanish ministers, in order to come hither, so that

he may be daily expected; but I hear nothing of Mr. Laurens or Mr. Adams.

Wednesday, June 12th. I visited Mr. Oswald this morning. He said he had received the paper I had sent him, relating to the parole of Lord Cornwallis, and had, by conversing with Major Ross, convinced him of his error in refusing it; that he saw I had done every thing that could be fairly desired of me, and said every thing in the paper that could give a weight to the temporary discharge, and tend to prevail with the Congress to confirm and complete it. Major Ross, coming in, made an apology for not having accepted it at first, declared his perfect satisfaction with it, and said, he was sure Lord Cornwallis would be very sensible of the favor. He then mentioned the custom among military people, that, in discharging the parole of a general, that of his aids was discharged at the same time. I answered, I was a stranger to the customs of the army, that I had made the most of the authority I had for exchanging General Burgoyne, by extending it as a foundation for the exchange of Lord Cornwallis, but that I had no shadow of authority for going further; that the Marquis de Lafayette, having been present when the parole was given, and one of the generals who received it, was, I thought, more competent to the discharge of it than myself; and I could do nothing in it. He went then to the Marquis, who, in the afternoon, sent me the drafts of a limited discharge, which he should sign, but requested my approbation of it, of which I made no difficulty, though I observed he had put into it that it was by my advice. He appears very prudently cautious of doing any thing, that may seem assuming a power that he is not vested with.

Friday, the 14th. M. Boeris called again, wishing to

know if Mr. Grenville's courier was returned, and whether the treaty was like to go on. I could give him no information. He told me it was intended in Holland, in answer to the last Russian memorial, to say, that they could not now enter into a particular treaty with England, that they thought it more glorious for her Imperial Majesty to be the mediatrix in a general treaty, and wished her to name the place. I said to him, "As you tell me their High Mightinesses are not well satisfied with Russia, and had rather avoid her mediation, would it not be better to omit the proposition, at least of her naming the place, especially as France, England, and America have already agreed to treat at Paris?" He replied, it might be better, but, says he, "we have no politicians among us." I advised him to write and get that omitted, as I understood it would be a week before the answer was concluded on. He did not seem to think his writing would be of much importance. I have observed, that his colleague, M. Vanderpierre, has a greater opinion by far of his own influence and consequence.

Saturday, June 15th. Mr. Oswald came out to breakfast with me. We afterwards took a walk in the garden, when he told me, that Mr. Grenville's courier returned last night. That he had received by him a letter from Mrs. Oswald, but not a line from the ministry, nor had he heard a word from them since his arrival, nor had he heard of any news brought by the courier. That he should have gone to see Mr. Grenville this morning, but he had omitted it, that gentleman being subject to morning headaches, which prevented his rising so early. I said, I supposed he would go to Versailles, and call on me in his return. We had but little farther discourse, having no new subject.

Mr. Oswald left me about noon, and soon after Mr. Gren-

ville came, and acquainted me with the return of his courier, and that he had brought the full powers. That he, Mr. Grenville, had been at Versailles, and left a copy with Count de Vergennes. That the instrument was in the same terms with the former, except that, after the power to treat with the King of France, or his ministers, there was an addition of words, importing a power to treat with the ministers of any other Prince or *State* whom it might concern. That Count de Vergennes had at first objected to these general words, as not being particular enough, but said, he would lay it before the King, and communicate it to the ministers of the belligerent powers, and that Mr. Grenville should hear from him on Monday. Mr. Grenville added, that he had further informed Count de Vergennes of his being now instructed to make a proposition as a basis for the intended treaty, viz. the peace of 1763; that the proposition intended to be made under his first powers, not being then received, was now changed, and, instead of proposing to allow the independence of America on condition of England's being put into the situation she was in at the peace of 1763, he was now authorized to *declare the Independence of America previous to the treaty*, as a voluntary act, and to propose separately as a basis the treaty of 1763. This also Count de Vergennes undertook to lay before the King, and communicate to me.

Mr. Grenville then said to me, he hoped all difficulties were now removed, and that we might proceed in the good work. I asked him if the Enabling Bill was passed? He said, No. It passed the Commons, and had been once read in the House of Lords, but was not yet completed. I remarked, that the usual time approached for the prorogation of Parliament, and possibly this business might be

omitted. He said there was no danger of that, the Parliament would not rise this year till the middle of July; the India affairs had put back other business which must be done, and would require a prolongation of the session till that time. I then observed to him, that, though we Americans considered ourselves as a distinct independent power, or State, yet, as the British government had always, hitherto, affected to consider us only as rebellious subjects, and as the Enabling Act was not yet passed, I did not think it could be fairly supposed, that his court intended by the general words, *any other Prince or State*, to include a people whom they did not allow to be a State; and that, therefore, I doubted the sufficiency of his power as to treating with America, though it might be good as to Spain and Holland. He replied, that he himself had no doubt of the sufficiency of his power, and was willing to act upon it. I then desired to have a copy of the power, which he accordingly promised me.

He would have entered into conversation on the topic of reconciliation, but I chose still to wave it, till I should find the negotiation more certainly commenced; and I showed him the London paper containing the article above transcribed, that he might see how our conversations were misrepresented, and how hazardous it must be for me to make any propositions of the kind at present. He seemed to treat the newspapers lightly, as of no consequence; but I observed, that, before he had finished the reading of the article, he turned to the beginning of the paper to see the date, which made me suspect that he doubted whether it might not have taken its rise from some of his letters.

When he left me, I went to dine with M. de Chaumont, who had invited me to meet there Mr. Walpole, at his

request. We shook hands, and he observed, that it was near two years since we had seen each other. Then, stepping aside, he thanked me for having communicated to him Lord Shelburne's letter to Mr. Oswald; thought it odd that Mr. Oswald himself had not spoken to him about it; said he had received a letter from Mr. Fox upon the affair of St. Eustatia, in which there were some general words, expressing a desire of peace; that he had mentioned this to the Marquis de Castries, who had referred him to Count de Vergennes, but he did not think it a sufficient authority for him to go to that minister. It was known that he had business with the minister of the Marine on the other affair, and, therefore, his going to him was not taken notice of; but, if he had gone to Count de Vergennes, minister of Foreign Affairs, it would have occasioned speculation and much discourse; that he had therefore avoided it till he should be authorized, and had written accordingly to Mr. Fox; but that, in the mean time, Mr. Oswald had been chosen upon the supposition, that he, Mr. Walpole, and I were at variance. He spoke of Mr. Oswald as an odd kind of man, but that, indeed, his nation were generally odd people, &c. We dined pleasantly together with the family, and parted agreeably, without entering into any particulars of the business. Count d'Estaing was at this dinner, and I met him again in the evening at Madame Brillon's. There is at present among the people much censure of Count de Grasse's conduct, and a general wish that Count d'Estaing had the command in America. I avoid meddling, or even speaking on the subject, as improper for me, though I much esteem that commander.

Sunday, the 16th. I heard nothing from Versailles. I received a letter from Mr. Adams, acquainting me he had

drawn upon me for a quarter's salary, which he hoped would be the last, as he now found himself in the way of getting some money there, though not much. But he says not a word in answer to my late letters on public affairs, nor have I any line from Mr. Laurens, which I wonder at. I received also a letter from Mr. Carmichael, dated June 5th, at Madrid. He speaks of Mr. Jay being on his journey, and supposes he would be with me before that letter, so that I may expect him daily. We have taken lodgings for him in Paris.

Monday, the 17th. I received a letter from Mr. Hodgson, acquainting me that the American prisoners at Portsmouth, to the number of three hundred, were all embarked on board the transports, that each had received twenty shillings' worth of necessaries at the expense of government, and went on board in good humor; that contrary winds had prevented the transports arriving in time at Plymouth, but that the whole number there now of our people, amounting to seven hundred, with those arrived from Ireland, would soon be on their way home.

In the evening the Marquis de Lafayette came to see me, and said he had seen Count de Vergennes, who was satisfied with Mr. Grenville's powers. He asked me what I thought of them, and I told him what I had said to Mr. Grenville of their imperfection with respect to us. He agreed in opinion with me. I let him know that I proposed waiting on Count de Vergennes to-morrow.

He said he had signed the paper relating to Major Ross's parole, and hoped Congress would not take it amiss, and added, that, in conversation with the Major, he had asked him why England was so backward to make propositions. "We are afraid," says the Major, "of offering you more

than you expect or desire." I find myself in some perplexity with regard to these two negotiators. Mr. Oswald appears to have been the choice of Lord Shelburne, Mr. Grenville that of Mr. Secretary Fox. Lord Shelburne is said to have lately acquired much of the King's confidence. Mr. Fox calls himself the minister of the people, and it is certain that his popularity is lately much increased. Lord Shelburne seems to wish to have the management of the treaty; Mr. Fox seems to think it in his department. I hear that the understanding between these ministers is not quite perfect. Mr. Grenville is clever, and seems to feel reason as readily as Mr. Oswald, though not so ready to own it. Mr. Oswald appears quite plain and sincere; I sometimes a little doubt Mr. Grenville. Mr. Oswald, an old man, seems now to have no desire but that of being useful in doing good. Mr. Grenville, a young man, naturally desirous of acquiring reputation, seems to aim at that of being an able negotiator. Mr. Oswald does not solicit to have any share in the business, but, submitting the matter to Lord Shelburne and me, expresses only his willingness to serve, if we think he may be useful, and is equally willing to be excused, if we judge there is no occasion for him. Mr. Grenville seems to think the whole negotiation committed to him, and to have no idea of Mr. Oswald's being concerned in it, and is, therefore, willing to extend the expressions in his commission, so as to make them comprehend America, and this beyond what I think they will bear. I imagine we might, however, go on very well with either of them, though I should rather prefer Oswald; but I apprehend difficulties if they are both employed, especially if there is any misunderstanding between their principals. I must, however, write to Lord Shelburne, proposing some-

thing in consequence of his offer of vesting Mr. Oswald with any commission, which that gentleman and I should think proper.

Tuesday, the 18th. I found myself much indisposed with a sudden and violent cold, attended with a feverishness and headache. I imagined it to be an effect of the influenza, a disorder now reigning in various parts of Europe. This prevented my going to Versailles.

Thursday, the 20th. Weather excessively hot, and my disorder continues, but is lessened, the headache having left me. I am, however, not yet able to go to Versailles.

Friday, the 21st. I received the following note from the Marquis de Lafayette.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO B. FRANKLIN.

"Versailles, Thursday morning, 20 June, 1782.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Agreeably to your desire, I have waited upon the Count de Vergennes, and said to him what I had in command from your Excellency. He intends taking the King's orders this morning, and expects he will be able to propose to Mr. Grenville a meeting for to-morrow, when he will have time to explain himself respecting France and her allies, that he may make an official communication both to the King and the allied ministers. What Count de Vergennes can make out of this conversation will be communicated by him to your Excellency, in case you are able to come. In the other case I shall wait upon you to-morrow evening with every information I can collect. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, &c.

"LAFAYETTE."

In the evening the Marquis called upon me, and ac-

quainted me, that Mr. Grenville had been with Count de Vergennes, but could not inform me what had passed.

Saturday, the 22d. Messrs. Oswald and Whitefoord came and breakfasted with me. Mr. Oswald had received no letters or instructions. I told him I would write to Lord Shelburne respecting him, and call on him on Monday morning to breakfast, and show him what I proposed to write, that it might receive such alterations as he should judge proper.

Sunday, the 23d. In the afternoon Mr. Jay arrived, to my great satisfaction. I proposed going with him the next morning to Versailles, and presenting him to M. de Vergennes. He informed me, that the Spanish ministers had been much struck with the news from England, respecting the resolutions of Parliament to discontinue the war in America, &c., and that they had since been extremely civil to him, and he understood intended to send instructions to their ambassador at this court, to make the long talked of treaty with him here.

Monday, the 24th. Wrote a note of excuse to Mr. Oswald, promising to see him on Wednesday, and went with Mr. Jay to Versailles. Count de Vergennes acquainted us, that he had given to Mr. Grenville the answer to his propositions, who had immediately despatched it to his court. He read it to us, and I shall endeavour to obtain a copy of it. Count de Vergennes informing us, that a frigate was about to be despatched for America, by which we might write, and that the courier who was to carry down the despatches would set out on Wednesday morning, we concluded to omit coming to court on Tuesday, in order to prepare our letters. Count de Vergennes appeared to have some doubts about the sincerity of the British court, and

the *bonne foi* of Mr. Grenville, but said the return of Mr. Grenville's courier might give light. I wrote the following letters to Mr. Secretary Livingston and Mr. Morris.

TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

" Passy, 25 June, 1782.

" SIR,

" I have received your respective letters of January 26th and February 13th. The first was accompanied with a form of a convention for the establishment of consuls. Mr. Barclay having been detained these six months in Holland, though in continual expectation of returning hither, I have yet done nothing in that business, thinking his presence might be of use in settling it. As soon as he arrives I shall move the completion of it.

" The second enforces some resolutions of Congress, sent me with it, respecting a loan of twelve millions of livres, to be demanded of France for the current year. I had already received the promise of six millions, together with the clearest and most positive assurances, that it was all the King could spare to us, that we must not expect more, that, if drafts and demands came upon me beyond that sum, it behoved me to take care how I accepted them, or where I should find funds for the payment, since I could certainly not be further assisted out of the royal treasury. Under this declaration, with what face could I ask for another six millions? It would be saying, you are not to be believed, you can spare more; you are able to lend me twice the sum if you were but willing. If you read my letter to Mr. Morris of this date, I think you will be convinced how improper any language, capable of such a construction, would be to such a friend. I hope, however, that the loan Mr.

Adams has opened in Holland for three millions of florins, which it is said is likely to succeed, will supply the deficiency.

"By the newspapers I have sent, you will see, that the general disposition of the British nation towards us had been changed. Two persons have been sent here by the new ministers, to propose treating for peace. They had at first some hopes of getting the belligerent powers to treat separately, one after another; but, finding that impracticable, they have, after several messengers sent to and fro, come to a resolution of treating with all together for a general peace, and have agreed, that the place shall be Paris. Mr. Grenville is now here with full powers for that purpose, (if they can be reckoned full with regard to America, till a certain act is completed for enabling his Majesty to treat, &c., which has gone through the Commons, and has been once read in the House of Lords.) I keep a very particular journal of what passes every day in the affair, which is transcribing, to be sent to you. I shall, therefore, need to say no more about it in this letter, except, that though I still think they were sincere at first in their desire of peace, yet, since their success in the West Indies, I imagine, that I see marks of their desiring rather to draw the negotiations into length, that they may take the chance of what the campaign shall produce in their favor; and, as there are so many interests to adjust, it will be prudent for us to suppose, that even another campaign may pass before all can be agreed. Something, too, may happen to break off the negotiations, and we should be prepared for the worst.

"I hoped for the assistance of Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens. The first is too much engaged in Holland to come hither, and the other declines serving; but I have now the

satisfaction of being joined by Mr. Jay, who happily arrived here from Madrid last Sunday. The Marquis de Lafayette is of great use in our affairs here, and, as the campaign is not likely to be very active in North America, I wish I may be able to prevail with him to stay a few weeks longer. By him you will receive the journal above mentioned, which is already pretty voluminous, and yet the negotiations cannot be said to be opened.

"Ireland, you will see, has obtained all her demands triumphantly. I meet no one from that country, who does not express some obligations to America for their success.

"Before I received your just observations on the subject, I had obtained from the English ministers a resolution to exchange all our prisoners. They thought themselves obliged to have an act of Parliament about it for authorizing the King to do it, this war being different from others, as made by an act of Parliament declaring us rebels, and our people being committed for high treason. I empowered Mr. Hodgson, who was chairman of the committee that collected and dispensed the charitable subscriptions for the American prisoners, to treat and conclude on the terms of their discharge; and, having approved of the draft he sent me of the agreement, I hope Congress will see fit to order a punctual execution of it. I have long suffered with those poor brave men, who with so much public virtue have endured four or five years hard imprisonment, rather than serve against their country. I have done all I could afford towards making their situation more comfortable; but their numbers were so great, that I could do but little for each, and that very great villain, Digges, defrauded them of between three and four hundred pounds, which he drew from me on their account. He lately wrote me a letter, in

which he pretended he was coming to settle with me, and to convince me, that I had been mistaken with regard to his conduct; but he never appeared, and I hear he is gone to America. Beware of him, for he is very artful, and has cheated many. I hear every day of new rogueries committed by him in England.

"The ambassador from Sweden to this court applied to me lately to know, if I had powers that would authorize my making a treaty with his master in behalf of the United States. Recollecting a general power, that was formerly given to me with the other Commissioners, I answered in the affirmative. He seemed much pleased, and said the King had directed him to ask the question, and charged him to tell me, that he had so great esteem for me, that it would be a particular satisfaction to him to have such a transaction with me. I have perhaps some vanity in repeating this; but I think, too, that it is right that Congress should know it, and judge if any use may be made of the reputation of a citizen for the public service. In case it should be thought fit to employ me in that business, it will be well to send a more particular power and proper instructions. The ambassador added, that it was a pleasure to him to think, and he hoped it would be remembered, that Sweden was the first power in Europe, which had voluntarily offered its friendship to the United States without being solicited. This affair should be talked of as little as possible till completed.

"I enclose another complaint from Denmark, which I request you will lay before Congress. I am continually pestered with complaints from French seamen, who were with Captain Conyngham in his first cruise from Dunkirk; from others who were in the *Lexington*, the *Alliance*, &c.,

being put on board prizes that were retaken, were never afterwards able to join their respective ships, and so have been deprived of the wages, &c. due to them. It is for our national honor, that justice should be done them, if possible; and I wish you to procure an order of Congress for inquiring into their demands, and satisfying such as shall be found just. It may be addressed to the consul.

"I enclose a note from M. de Vergennes to me, accompanied by a memoir relating to a Swiss, who died at Edenton. If you can procure the information desired, it will much oblige the French ambassador in Switzerland.

"I have made the addition you directed to the cipher. I rather prefer the old one of Dumas, perhaps because I am more used to it. I enclose several letters from that ancient and worthy friend of our country. He is now employed as secretary to Mr. Adams, and I must, from a long experience of his zeal and usefulness, beg leave to recommend him warmly to the consideration of Congress, with regard to his appointments, which have never been equal to his merit. As Mr. Adams writes me the good news, that he shall no longer be obliged to draw on me for his salary, I suppose it will be proper to direct his paying that, which shall be allowed to M. Dumas. Be pleased to present my duty to the Congress, and believe me to be, with great esteem and regard,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"TO ROBERT MORRIS.

"Passy, 25 June, 1782.

"SIR,

—— "For what relates to war and peace, I must refer you to Mr. Livingston, to whom I write fully. I will only

say, that, though the English a few months since seemed desirous of peace, I suspect they now intend to draw out the negotiation into length, till they can see what this campaign will produce. I hope our people will not be deceived by fair words, but be on their guard, ready against every attempt that our insidious enemies may make upon us. I am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Wednesday, the 26th. I sent away my letters, and went to see Mr. Oswald. I showed him the draft of a letter to be addressed to him instead of Lord Shelburne, respecting the commission, or public character, he might hereafter be vested with. This draft was founded on Lord Shelburne's memorandums, which Mr. Oswald had shown to me, and this letter was intended to be communicated by him to Lord Shelburne. Mr. Oswald liked the mode, but rather chose that no mention should be made of his having shown me Lord Shelburne's memorandums, though he thought they were given to him for that purpose. So I struck that part out, and new modelled the letter, which I sent him the next day, as follows.

TO RICHARD OSWALD.

"Passy, 27 June, 1782.

"SIR,

"The opinion I have of your candor, probity, and good understanding, and good will to both countries, made me hope you would have been vested with the character of plenipotentiary to treat with those from America. When Mr. Grenville produced his first commission, which was only to treat with France, I did imagine that the other to

treat with us was reserved for you, and kept only till the Enabling Bill should be passed. Mr. Grenville has since received a second commission, which, as he informs me, has additional words, empowering him to treat with the ministers of any other *Prince* or *State* whom it may concern; and he seems to understand, that those general words comprehend the United States of America. There may be no doubt, that they may comprehend Spain and Holland; but, as there exist various public acts, by which the government of Britain denies us to be states, and none in which they acknowledge us to be such, it seems hardly clear that we could be intended at the time the commission was given, the Enabling Act not being then passed. So that, though I can have no objection to Mr. Grenville, nor right to make it, if I had any, yet, as your long residence in America has given you a knowledge of that country, its people, circumstances, commerce, &c., which, added to your experience in business, may be useful to both sides in facilitating and expediting the negotiation, I cannot but hope, that it is still intended to vest you with the character above mentioned, respecting the treaty with America, either separately or in conjunction with Mr. Grenville, as to the wisdom of your ministers may seem best. Be it as it may, I beg you would accept this line as a testimony of the sincere esteem and respect with which, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."*

* In conformity to Dr. Franklin's suggestion, previously made to Mr. Oswald, the British ministry appointed separate commissions to negotiate treaties of peace, as appears by the following extract from a letter written by the Earl of Shelburne to Mr. Oswald.

"I hope to receive early assurances from you, that my confidence in the sincerity and good faith of Dr. Franklin has not been misplaced, and that he will concur with you in endeavouring to render effectual the great work, in

Friday, June 28th. M. de Rayneval called upon me, and acquainted me, that the ministers had received intelligence from England, that, besides the orders given to General Carleton to propose terms of reunion to America, artful emissaries were sent over, to go through the country and stir up the people to call on the Congress to accept those terms, they being similar to those settling with Ireland; that it would, therefore, be well for Mr. Jay and me to write and caution Congress against these practices. He said Count de Vergennes wished also to know what I had written respecting the negotiation, as it would be well for us to hold pretty near the same language. I told him, that I did not apprehend the least danger that such emissaries would meet with any success, or that the Congress would make any treaty with General Carleton; that I would, however, write as he desired; and Mr. Jay, coming in, promised the same. He said the courier would go to-morrow. I accordingly wrote as follows to Mr. Secretary Livingston, and to my friend Dr. Cooper.

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which our hearts and wishes are so equally interested. You will observe, that we have adopted his idea of the method to come to a general pacification by treating separately with each party. I cannot but entertain a firm reliance, that the appointment of the particular Commissioners will be no less satisfactory to him. He has very lately warranted me to depend upon that effect in the instance of your nomination, and he will not be surprised at the choice of your colleague, Mr. Jackson, when he considers how very conversant Mr. Jackson is with the subject of America, and how very sincere a friend he has uniformly shown himself to be to the reëstablishment of peace and harmony between that country and this."—*Whitehall, June 30th, 1782. MS.*

Mr. Richard Jackson, who was associated with Mr. Oswald in the commission, had been long connected with Dr. Franklin in the transaction of Pennsylvania affairs in England, and is often mentioned in the earlier parts of this correspondence. It is uncertain whether he accepted the appointment of commissioner. At any rate, he did not go to Paris, nor take any part in the negotiation.—ED.

TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

"Passy, 28 June, 1782.

"SIR,

"In mine of the 25th instant, I omitted mentioning, that, at the repeated, earnest instances of Mr. Laurens, who had given such expectations to the ministry in England, when his parole or securities were discharged, as that he could not think himself at liberty to act in public affairs, till the parole of Lord Cornwallis was absolved by me in exchange, I sent to that general the paper, of which the enclosed is a copy; and I see, by the English papers, that his Lordship, immediately on the receipt of it, appeared at court, and has taken his seat in the House of Peers, which he did not before think was warrantable. My authority for doing this appeared questionable to myself; but Mr. Laurens judged it deducible from that respecting General Burgoyne, and, by his letters to me, seemed so unhappy till it was done, that I ventured it, with a clause, however, as you will see, reserving to Congress the approbation or disallowance of it.

"The Enabling Act is now said to be passed, but no copy of it is yet received here, so that, as the bill first printed has suffered alterations in passing through Parliament, and we know not what they are, the treaty with us is not yet commenced. Mr. Grenville expects his courier in a few days, with the answer of his court to a paper given him on the part of this. That answer will probably afford us a clearer understanding of the intentions of the British ministry, which for some weeks past have appeared somewhat equivocal and uncertain. It looks as if, since their late success in the West Indies, they a little repented of the advances they had made in their declarations respecting the acknowledg-

ment of our independence; and we have pretty good information, that some of the ministers still flatter the King with the hope of recovering his sovereignty over us, on the same terms as are now making with Ireland. However willing we might have been, at the commencement of this contest, to have accepted such conditions, be assured we can have no safety in them at present. The King hates us most cordially. If he is once admitted to any degree of power and government among us, however limited, it will soon be extended by corruption, artifice, and force, till we are reduced to absolute subjection, and that the more easily, as, by receiving him again for our King, we shall draw upon us the contempt of all Europe, who now admire and respect us, and shall never again find a friend to assist us.

"There are, it is said, great divisions in the ministry on other points as well as this, and those who aim at engrossing the power, flatter the King with this project of reunion, and, it is said, have much reliance on the operations of private agents sent into America to dispose minds there in favor of it, and to bring about a separate treaty there with General Carleton. I have not the least apprehension, that Congress will give in to this scheme, it being inconsistent with our treaties, as well as with our interest; but I think it will be well to watch the emissaries, and secure, or banish immediately, such as shall be found tampering and stirring up the people to call for it.

"The firm, united resolution of France, Spain, and Holland, joined with ours, not to treat of a particular, but a general peace, notwithstanding the separate tempting offers to each, will in the end give us the command of that peace. Every one of the other powers sees clearly its interest in this, and persists in that resolution. The Con-

gress, I am persuaded, are as clear-sighted as any of them, and will not depart from the system, which has been attended with so much success, and promises to make America soon both great and happy.

"I have just received a letter from Mr. Laurens, dated at Lyons, on his journey into the south of France for his health. Mr. Jay will write also by this opportunity. With great esteem, I have the honor to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

TO SAMUEL COOPER.

"Passy, 28 June, 1782.

—— "Our public affairs are in a good situation here. England, having tried in vain to make a separate peace with each of the powers she is at war with, has at length agreed to treat for a general peace with them all together; and at Paris. If we all continue firm in the resolution not to separate, we shall command the terms. I have no doubt of this steadiness here; and though we are told, that endeavours are making on your side the water to induce America to a reunion, on the terms now granting to Ireland, and that powers are sent to General Carleton for that purpose, I am persuaded the danger of this project will appear so evident, that, if offered, it will be immediately rejected. We have no safety but in our independence; with that we shall be respected, and soon become great and happy. Without it, we shall be despised, lose all our friends, and then either be cruelly oppressed by the King, who hates, and is incapable of forgiving us, or, having all that nation's enemies for ours, shall sink with it. I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

M. de Rayneval, who is Secretary to the Council of State, called again in the evening. I gave him copies of the three preceding letters to peruse and show to Count de Vergennes, to convince him that we held no underhand dealings here. I own I had, at the same time, another view in it, which was, that they should see I had been ordered to demand further aids, and had forborne to make the demands, with my reasons, hoping, that, if they could possibly help us to more money, they might be induced to do it.

I had never made any visit to Count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador, for reasons before mentioned. M. de Rayneval told Mr. Jay and me this morning, that it would be well for us to wait on him, and he had authority to assure us we should be well received. We accordingly concluded to wait on his Excellency the next morning.

Saturday, June 29th. We went together to the Spanish ambassador's, who received us with great civility and politeness. He spoke with Mr. Jay on the subject of the treaty they were to make together, and mentioned in general, as a principle, that the two powers should consider each other's conveniency, and accommodate and compensate each other as well as they could. That an exact compensation might, perhaps, not be possible, but should be approached as nearly as the nature of things would admit. "Thus," says he, "if there is a certain thing which would be convenient to each of us, but more convenient to one than to the other, it should be given to the one to whom it would be most convenient, and compensation made by giving another thing to the other, for the same reason." I suppose he had in view something relating to boundaries or territories, because, he added, we will sit down together with maps in our hands, and, by that means, shall see our way more

clearly. I learned from him, that the expedition against Providence had sailed, but no advice was yet received of its success. On our going out, he took pains himself to open the folding doors for us, which is a high compliment here; and told us he would return our visit (rendre son devoir) and then fix a day with us for dining with him. I dined with Mr. Jay and a company of Americans at his lodgings.

Saturday, July 1st. Mr. Grenville called on me.*

* Unfortunately, the Doctor's journal closes here.

CHAPTER IV.

Micawberism of the Ministry—Moravian Indians—Victory Medals—Wm. Temple Franklin's Salary—Sir Joseph Banks—Objections to Indemnifying American Loyalists—Difficulties of Transatlantic Correspondence—Preliminaries between France and England agreed on.

1782.

To Henry Laurens, dated Passy, 2 July, 1782.

I wonder a little at Mr. —— not acquainting you whether your name was in the Commission or not. I begin to suspect, from various circumstances, that the British ministry, elated perhaps too much by the success of Admiral Rodney, are not in earnest to treat immediately, but rather wish delay. They seem to hope, that further successes may enable them to treat more advantageously; or, as some suppose, that certain propositions to be made to Congress by General Carleton may render a treaty here with us unnecessary. A little bad news, which it is possible they may yet receive from the same quarter, will contribute to set them right; and then we may enter seriously upon the treaty; otherwise I conjecture it may not take place till after another campaign. Mr. Jay is arrived here. Mr. Grenville and Mr. Oswald continue here. Mr. Oswald has yet received no commission; and that of Mr. Grenville does not very clearly comprehend us, according to British ideas; there-

fore it requires explication. When I know more, you shall have further information.

To James Hutton, dated Passy, 7 July, 1782.

A letter written by you to M. Bertin, *Ministre d'Etat*, containing an account of the abominable murders committed by some of the frontier people on the poor Moravian Indians, has given me infinite pain and vexation. The dispensations of Providence in this world puzzle my weak reason; I cannot comprehend why cruel men should have been permitted thus to destroy their fellow creatures. Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death. Why has a single man in England, who happens to love blood and to hate Americans, been permitted to gratify that bad temper by hiring German murderers, and, joining them with his own, to destroy in a continued course of bloody years near one hundred thousand human creatures, many of them possessed of useful talents, virtues, and abilities, to which he has no pretension? It is he who has furnished the savages with hatchets and scalping knives, and engages them to fall upon our defenceless farmers, and murder them with their wives and children, paying for their scalps, of which the account kept in America already amounts, as I have heard, to near *two thousand!*

Perhaps the people of the frontiers, exasperated by the cruelties of the Indians, have been induced to kill all Indians that fall into their hands without distinction; so that even these horrid murders of our poor Moravians may be laid to his charge. And yet this man lives, enjoys all the good things this world can afford, and is surrounded by flatterers, who keep even his conscience quiet by telling him he is the

best of Princes! I wonder at this, but I cannot therefore part with the comfortable belief of a Divine Providence; and the more I see the impossibility, from the number and extent of his crimes, of giving equivalent punishment to a wicked man in this life, the more I am convinced of a future state, in which all that here appears to be wrong shall be set right, all that is crooked made straight. In this faith let you and me, my dear friend, comfort ourselves; it is the only comfort, in the present dark scene of things, that is allowed us.

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Passy, 12 Aug., 1782.

The order of Congress, for liquidating the accounts between this court and the United States, was executed before it arrived. All the accounts against us for money lent, and stores, arms, ammunition, clothing, &c., furnished by government, were brought in and examined, and a balance received, which made the debt amount to the even sum of eighteen millions, exclusive of the Holland loan, for which the King is guarantee. I send a copy of the instrument to Mr. Morris. In reading it, you will discover several fresh marks of the King's goodness towards us, amounting to the value of near two millions. These, added to the free gifts before made to us at different times, form an object of at least twelve millions, for which no returns but that of gratitude and friendship are expected. These, I hope, may be everlasting. The constant good understanding between France and the Swiss Cantons, and the steady benevolence of this crown towards them, afford us a well grounded hope that our alliance may be as durable and as happy for both nations; there being strong reasons for our union, and no crossing interests between us. I write fully to Mr. Morris

on money affairs, who will doubtless communicate to you my letter, so that I need say the less to you on that subject.

The letter to the King was well received; the accounts of your rejoicings on the news of the Dauphin's birth gave pleasure here; as do the firm conduct of Congress in refusing to treat with General Carleton, and the unanimous resolutions of the Assemblies of different States on the same subject. All ranks of this nation appear to be in good humor with us, and our reputation rises throughout Europe. I understand from the Swedish ambassador, that their treaty with us will go on as soon as ours with Holland is finished; our treaty with France, with such improvements as that with Holland may suggest, being intended as the basis.

Your approbation of my idea of a medal, to perpetuate the memory of York and Saratoga victories, gives me great pleasure, and encourages me to have it struck. I wish you would acquaint me with what kind of a monument at York the emblems required are to be fixed on; whether an obelisk or a column; its dimensions; whether any part of it is to be marble, and the emblems carved on it, and whether the work is to be executed by the excellent artists in that way which Paris affords; and, if so, to what expense they are to be limited. This puts me in mind of a monument I got made here and sent to America, by order of Congress, five years since. I have heard of its arrival, and nothing more. It was admired here for its elegant antique simplicity of design, and the various beautiful marbles used in its composition. It was intended to be fixed against a wall in the State House of Philadelphia. I know not why it has been so long neglected; it would, methinks, be well to inquire after it, and get it put up somewhere. Directions for fixing it were sent with it. I enclose a print of it. The

inscription in the engraving is not on the monument; it was merely the fancy of the engraver. There is a white plate of marble left smooth to receive such inscription as the Congress should think proper.*

Our countrymen, who have been prisoners in England, are sent home, a few excepted, who were sick, and who will be forwarded as soon as recovered. This eases us of a very considerable charge.

I communicated to the Marquis de Lafayette the paragraph of your letter which related to him. He is still here, and, as there seems not so much likelihood of an active campaign in America, he is probably more useful where he is. His departure, however, though delayed, is not absolutely laid aside.

The second changes in the ministry of England have occasioned, or have afforded, pretences for various delays in the negotiation for peace. Mr. Grenville had two successive imperfect commissions. He was at length recalled, and Mr. Fitzherbert is now arrived to replace him, with a commission in due form to treat with France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Oswald, who is here, is informed by a letter from the new Secretary of State, that a commission, empowering him to treat with the Commissioners of Congress, will pass the seals, and be sent him in a few days; till he arrives, this court will not proceed in its own negotiation. I send the *Enabling Act*, as it is called. Mr. Jay will acquaint you with what passes between him and the Spanish

* This was probably the monument ordered by Congress to be erected to the memory of General Montgomery. Dr. Franklin was directed to procure it in Paris, at an expense not exceeding three hundred pounds sterling. See *Journals of Congress, January 25th*, 1776. The monument was placed in the portico of St. Paul's Church, in the city of New York.—S.

ambassador, respecting the proposed treaty with Spain. I will only mention, that my conjecture of that court's design to coop us up within the Allegany Mountains is now manifested. I hope Congress will insist on the Mississippi as the boundary, and the free navigation of the river, from which they could entirely exclude us.

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Passy, 3 Sept., 1782.

You wish to know what allowance I make to my private secretary. My grandson, William T. Franklin, came over with me, and served me as a private secretary during the time of the Commissioners; and no secretary to the commission arriving, though we had been made to expect one, he did business for us all, and this without any allowance for his services, though both Mr. Lee and Mr. Deane at times mentioned it to me as a thing proper to be done, and in justice due to him. When I became appointed sole minister here, and the whole business, which the Commissioners had before divided with me, came into my hands, I was obliged to exact more service from him, and he was indeed, by being so long in the business, become capable of doing more. At length, in the beginning of the year 1781, when he became of age, considering his constant close attention to the duties required, and his having thereby missed the opportunity of studying the law, for which he had been intended, I determined to make him some compensation for the time past, and fix some compensation for the time to come, till the pleasure of Congress respecting him should be known. I accordingly settled an account with him, allowing him from the beginning of December, 1776, to the end of 1777, the sum of three thousand four hundred livres; and for the year 1778, the sum of four thousand livres; for 1779, four

thousand eight hundred livres; and for 1780, six thousand livres. Since that time I have allowed him at the rate of three hundred louis per annum, being what I saw had been allowed by Congress to the secretary of Mr. William Lee, who could not have had, I imagine, a fourth part of the business to go through; since my secretary, besides the writing and copying the papers relative to my common ministerial transactions, has had all those occasioned by my acting in the various employments of judge of admiralty, consul, purchaser of goods for the public, &c. &c., besides that of accepting the Congress bills, a business that requires being always at home, bills coming by post, from different ports and countries, and often requiring immediate answers, whether good or not; and to that end, it being necessary to examine by the books, exactly kept of all preceding acceptances, in order to detect double presentations, which happen very frequently. The great number of these bills makes almost sufficient business for one person, and the confinement they occasion is such, that we cannot allow ourselves a day's excursion into the country, and the want of exercise has hurt our healths in several instances.

The Congress pay much larger salaries to some secretaries, who, I believe, deserve them; but not more than my grandson does the comparatively small one I have allowed to him, his fidelity, exactitude, and address in transacting business, being really what one could wish in such an officer; and the genteel appearance a young gentleman in his station is obliged to make, requiring at least such an income. I do not mention the extraordinary business that has been imposed upon us in this embassy, as a foundation for demanding higher salaries than others. I never solicited for a public office, either for myself, or any relation, yet I never

refused one, that I was capable of executing, when public service was in question; and I never bargained for salary, but contented myself with whatever my constituents were pleased to allow me. The Congress will therefore consider every article charged in my account, distinct from the salary originally voted, not as what I presume to insist upon, but as what I propose only for their consideration, and they will allow what they think proper.

You desire an accurate estimate of those contingent expenses. I enclose copies of two letters,* which passed between Mr. Adams and me on the subject, and show the articles of which they consist. Their amount in different years may be found in my accounts, except the article of house rent, which has never yet been settled; M. de Chaumont, our landlord, having originally proposed to leave it till the end of the war, and then to accept for it a piece of American land from the Congress, such as they might judge equivalent. If the Congress did intend all contingent charges whatever to be included in the salary, and do not think proper to pay on the whole so much, in that case I would humbly suggest, that the saving may be most conveniently made by a diminution of the salary, leaving the contingencies to be charged; because they may necessarily be very different in different years, and at different courts.

I have been more diffuse on this subject, as your letter gave occasion for it, and it is probably the last time I shall mention it.

To Sir Joseph Banks, dated Passy, 9 September, 1782.

I have just received the very kind, friendly letter you were so good as to write to me by Dr. Broussonnet. Be assured, that I long

* See vol. ii. p. 447, note.—ED.

earnestly for a return of those peaceful times, when I could sit down in sweet society with my English philosophical friends, communicating to each other new discoveries, and proposing improvements of old ones; all tending to extend the power of man over matter, avert or diminish the evils he is subject to, or augment the number of his enjoyments. Much more happy should I be thus employed in your most desirable company, than in that of all the grandees of the earth projecting plans of mischief, however necessary they may be supposed for obtaining greater good.

I am glad to learn by the Doctor that your great work goes on. I admire your magnanimity in the undertaking, and the perseverance with which you have prosecuted it.

I join with you most perfectly in the charming wish you so well express, "that such measures may be taken by both parties as may tend to the elevation of both, rather than the destruction of either." If any thing has happened endangering one of them, my comfort is, that I endeavoured earnestly to prevent it, and gave honest, faithful advice, which, if it had been regarded, would have been effectual. And still, if proper means are used to produce, not only peace, but what is much more interesting, a thorough reconciliation, a few years may heal the wounds that have been made in our happiness, and produce a degree of prosperity of which at present we can hardly form a conception.

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Paris, 14 Oct., 1782.

In my last of the 26th past, I mentioned that the negotiation for peace had been obstructed by the want of due form in the

English commissions appointing their plenipotentiaries. In that for treating with us, the mentioning of our States by their public name had been avoided, which we objected to; another is come, of which I send a copy enclosed. We have now made several preliminary propositions, which the English minister, Mr. Oswald, has approved, and sent to his court. He thinks they will be approved there, but I have some doubts. In a few days, however, the answer expected will determine. By the first of these articles, the King of Great Britain renounces, for himself and successors, all claim and pretension to dominion or territory within the Thirteen United States; and the boundaries are described as in our instructions, except that the line between Nova Scotia and New England is to be settled by commissioners after the peace. By another article, the fishery in the American seas is to be freely exercised by the Americans, wherever they might formerly exercise it while united with Great Britain. By another, the citizens and subjects of each nation are to enjoy the same protection and privileges in each others' ports and countries, respecting commerce, duties, &c., that are enjoyed by native subjects. The articles are drawn up very fully by Mr. Jay, who I suppose sends you a copy; if not, it will go by the next opportunity. If these articles are agreed to, I apprehend little difficulty in the rest. Something has been mentioned about the refugees and English debts, but not insisted on; as we declared at once, that, whatever confiscations had been made in America, being in virtue of the laws of particular States, the Congress had no authority to repeal those laws, and therefore could give us none to stipulate for such repeal.

I have been honored with the receipt of your letters, Nos. 14 and 15. I have also received two letters from Mr. Lewis

R. Morris, both dated the 6th of July, and one dated the 10th of August, enclosing bills for

68,290 livres,
71,380
9,756

In all 149,426 livres,

being intended for the payment of ministers' salaries for the two first quarters of this year. But, as these bills came so late, that all those salaries were already paid, I shall make no use of the bills, but lay them by till further orders; and, the salaries of different ministers not having all the same times of falling due, as they had different commencements, I purpose to get all their accounts settled and reduced to the same period, and send you the state of them, that you may be clear in future orders. I see in one of the estimates sent me, that a quarter's salary of a minister is reckoned at 14,513 livres, in the other it is reckoned 16,667 livres, and the bill for 9,756* livres is mentioned as intended to pay a balance due on the remittance of the 68,290 livres. Being unacquainted with the state of your exchange, I do not well comprehend this, and therefore leave the whole for the present, as I have said above. Permit me only to hint for your consideration, whether it may not be well hereafter to omit mention of sterling in our appointments, since we have severed from the country to which that denomination of money is peculiar; and also to order the payment of your ministers in such a manner, that they may know exactly what they are to receive, and not be subject to the fluctuations of exchange. If it is that, which occa-

* This was not merely to pay a balance, but an excess on account of contingencies.—*Note by Mr. Livingston.*

sions the difference between 14,513 for the first quarter, and the 16,667 for the second, it is considerable. I think we have no right to any advantage by the exchange, nor should we be liable to any loss from it. Hitherto we have taken 15,000 for a quarter, (subject however to the allowance or disallowance of Congress,) which is lower than the medium between those two extremes.

The different accounts given of Lord Shelburne's character, with respect to sincerity, induced the minister here to send over M. de Rayneval, Secretary to the Council, to converse with him, and endeavour to form by that means a more perfect judgment of what was to be expected from the negotiations. He was five or six days in England, saw all the ministers, and returned quite satisfied, that they are sincerely desirous of peace, so that the negotiations now go on with some prospect of success. But the court and people of England are very changeable. A little turn of fortune in their favor sometimes turns their heads; and I shall not think a speedy peace to be depended on till I see the treaties signed.

To Richard Oswald, dated Passy, 26 Nov., 1782.

You may well remember, that in the beginning of our conferences, before the other Commissioners arrived, on your mentioning to me a retribution for the Royalists, whose estates had been confiscated, I acquainted you that nothing of that kind could be stipulated by us, the confiscation being made by virtue of laws of particular States, which the Congress had no power to contravene or dispense with, and therefore could give us no such authority in our commission. And I gave it as my opinion and advice, honestly and cordially, that, if a reconciliation was intended, no mention should be made

in our negotiations of those people; for, they having done infinite mischief to our properties, by wantonly burning and destroying farm houses, villages, towns, if compensation for their losses were insisted on, we should certainly exhibit again an account of all the ravages they had committed, which would necessarily recall to view scenes of barbarity, that must inflame, instead of conciliating, and tend to perpetuate an enmity that we all profess a desire of extinguishing. Understanding, however, from you, that this was a point your ministry had at heart, I wrote concerning it to Congress, and I have lately received the following resolution, viz.

"*By the United States in Congress assembled.*

"September 10th, 1782.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs be, and he is hereby, directed to obtain, as speedily as possible, authentic returns of the slaves and other property, which have been carried off or destroyed in the course of the war by the enemy, and to transmit the same to the ministers plenipotentiary for negotiating peace.

"*Resolved*, That, in the mean time, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs inform the said ministers, that many thousands of slaves, and other property, to a very great amount, have been carried off, or destroyed, by the enemy; and that, in the opinion of Congress, the great loss of property, which the citizens of the United States have sustained by the enemy, will be considered by the several States as an insuperable bar to their making restitution or indemnification to the former owners of property, which has been, or may be forfeited to, or confiscated by, any of the States.'

In consequence of these resolutions and circular letters

of the Secretary, the Assembly of Pennsylvania, then sitting, passed the following act, viz.

"Whereas great damages, of the most wanton nature, have been committed by the armies of the King of Great Britain, or their adherents, within the territory of the United States of North America, unwarranted by the practice of civilized nations, and only to be accounted for from the vindictive spirit of the said King and his officers; and whereas an accurate account and estimate of such damages, more especially the waste and destruction of property, may be very useful to the people of the United States of America, in forming a future treaty of peace, and, in the mean time, may serve to exhibit in a true light to the nations of Europe the conduct of the said King, his ministers, officers, and adherents; to the end, therefore, that proper measures be taken to ascertain the damages aforesaid, which have been done to the citizens and inhabitants of Pennsylvania, in the course of the present war within this State; Be it enacted by the House of Representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that in every county of this State, which has been invaded by the armies, soldiers, or adherents of the King of Great Britain, the Commissioners of every such county shall immediately meet together, each within their county, and issue directions to the assessors of the respective townships, districts, and places within such county, to call upon the inhabitants of every township and place, to furnish accounts and estimates of the damages, waste, spoil, and destruction, which have been done and committed as aforesaid, upon the property, real or personal, within the same township or place, since the first day of , which was in the year of our Lord 177 , and the same accounts and estimates to be transmitted to the Commissioners without delay. And, if any person or persons

shall refuse or neglect to make out such accounts and estimates, the said assessors of the township or place shall, from their own knowledge, and by any other reasonable and lawful method, take and render such an account and estimate of all damage done or committed, as aforesaid; Provided always, that all such accounts and estimates, to be made out and transmitted as aforesaid, shall contain a narrative of the time and circumstances; and, if in the power of the person aggrieved, the names of the general, or other officers or adherents, of the enemy, by whom the damage in any case was done, or under whose orders the army, detachment, party, or persons, committing the same, acted at that time; and also the name and condition of the person or persons, whose property was so damaged or destroyed; and that all such accounts and estimates be made in current money, upon oath or affirmation of the sufferer, or of others having knowledge concerning the same; and that in every case it be set forth, whether the party injured hath received any satisfaction for his loss, and by whom the same was given.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Commissioners, having obtained the said accounts and estimates from the assessor of the several townships and places, shall proceed to inspect and register the same in a book, to be provided for that purpose, distinguishing the districts and townships, and entering those of each place together; and if any account and estimate be imperfect, or not sufficiently verified and established, the said Commissioners shall have power, and they, or any two of them, are hereby authorized, to summon and compel any person, whose evidence they shall think necessary, to appear before them at a day and place appointed, to be summoned upon oath or affirmation, concerning any damage or injury as aforesaid; and the said Commissioners shall, upon the call and demand of the President or Vice-President of the

Supreme Executive Council, deliver, or send, to the Secretary of the said Council all or any of the original accounts and estimates aforesaid, and shall also deliver, or send, to the said Secretary copies of the book aforesaid, or any part or parts thereof, upon reasonable notice. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all losses of negro or mulatto slaves and servants, who have been deluded and carried away by the enemies of the United States, and have not been recovered or recompensed, shall be comprehended within the accounts and estimates aforesaid; and that the Commissioners and assessors of any county, which had not been invaded as aforesaid, shall nevertheless inquire after, and procure accounts and estimates of any damages suffered by the loss of such servants and slaves, as is herein before directed as to other property.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the charges and expenses of executing this act, as to the pay of the said Commissioners and assessors, shall be as in other cases; and that witnesses shall be rewarded for their loss of time and trouble, as witnesses summoned to appear in the courts of quarter sessions of the peace; and the said charges and expenses shall be defrayed by the Commonwealth; but paid, in the first instance, out of the hands of the Treasurer of the county, for county rates, and levies upon orders drawn by the Commissioners of the proper county."

We have not yet had time to hear what has been done by the other Assemblies; but I have no doubt that similar acts will be made use of by all of them, and that the mass of evidence produced by the execution of those acts, not only of the enormities committed by those people, under the direction of the British generals, but of those committed by the British troops themselves, will form a record, that

must render the British name odious in America to the latest generations. In that authentic record will be found the burning of the fine towns of Charlestown, near Boston; of Falmouth, just before winter, when the sick, the aged, the women and children, were driven to seek shelter where they could hardly find it; of Norfolk, in the midst of winter; of New London, of Fairfield, of Esopus, &c., besides near a hundred and fifty miles of well settled country laid waste; every house and barn burnt, and many hundreds of farmers, with their wives and children, butchered and scalped.

The present British ministers, when they reflect a little, will certainly be too equitable to suppose, that their nation has a right to make an unjust war (which they have always allowed this against us to be), and do all sorts of unnecessary mischief, unjustifiable by the practice of any individual people, which those they make war with are to suffer without claiming any satisfaction; but that, if Britons, or their adherents, are in return deprived of any property, it is to be restored to them, or they are to be indemnified. The British troops can never excuse their barbarities. They were unprovoked. The Loyalists may say in excuse of theirs, that they were exasperated by the loss of their estates, and it was revenge. They have then had their revenge. *Is it right they should have both?*

Some of those people may have merit in their regard for Britain, and who espoused her cause from affection; these it may become you to reward. But there are many of them who were waverers, and were only determined to engage in it by some occasional circumstance or appearances; these have not much of either merit or demerit; and there are others, who have abundance of demerit respecting your country, having by their falsehoods and misrepresentations

brought on and encouraged the continuance of the war; these, instead of being recompensed, should be punished.

It is usual among Christian people at war to profess always a desire of peace; but, if the ministers of one of the parties choose to insist particularly on a certain article, which they have known the others are not and cannot be empowered to agree to, what credit can they expect should be given to such professions?

Your ministers require, that we should receive again into our bosom those who have been our bitterest enemies, and restore their properties who have destroyed ours, and this, while the wounds they have given us are still bleeding! It is many years since your nation expelled the Stuarts and their adherents, and confiscated their estates. Much of your resentment against them may by this time be abated; yet, if we should propose it, and insist on it as an article of our treaty with you, that that family should be recalled and the forfeited estates of its friends restored, would you think us serious in our professions of earnestly desiring peace?

I must repeat my opinion, that it is best for you to drop all mention of the refugees. We have proposed, indeed, nothing but what we think best for you as well as ourselves. But, if you will have them mentioned, let it be in an article, in which you may provide, that they shall exhibit accounts of their losses to the Commissioners, hereafter to be appointed, who should examine the same, together with the accounts now preparing in America of the damages done by them, and state the account; and that, if a balance appears in their favor, it shall be paid by us to you, and by you divided among them as you shall think proper; and if the balance is found due to us, it shall be paid by you.

Give me leave, however, to advise you to prevent the necessity of so dreadful a discussion by dropping the article, that we may write to America and stop the inquiry.

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Passy, 5 Dec., 1782.

I am honored by your several letters, dated September 5th, 13th, 15th, and 18th. I believe that the complaints you make in them, of my not writing, may ere now have appeared less necessary, as many of my letters written before those complaints must have since come to hand. I will nevertheless mention some of the difficulties your ministers meet with, in keeping up a regular and punctual correspondence. We are far from the seaports, and not well informed, and often misinformed, about the sailing of vessels. Frequently we are told they are to sail in a week or two, and often they lie in the ports for months after, with our letters on board, either waiting for convoy, or for other reasons. The post-office here is an unsafe conveyance; many of the letters we receive by it have evidently been opened, and doubtless the same happens to those we send; and, at this time particularly, there is so violent a curiosity in all kinds of people to know something relating to the negotiations, and whether peace may be expected, or a continuance of the war, that there are few private hands or travellers, that we can trust with carrying our despatches to the seacoast; and I imagine, that they may sometimes be opened and destroyed, because they cannot be well sealed.

Again, the observation you make, that the Congress ministers in Europe seem to form themselves into a privy council, transacting affairs without the privity or concurrence of the sovereign, may be in some respects just; but it should be considered, that, if they do not write as frequently

as other ministers here do to their respective courts, or if, when they write, their letters are not regularly received, the greater distance of the seat of war, and the extreme irregularity of conveyances may be the causes, and not a desire of acting without the knowledge or orders of their constituents. There is no European court, to which an express cannot be sent from Paris in ten or fifteen days, and from most of them answers may be obtained in that time. There is, I imagine, no minister, who would not think it safer to act by orders than from his own discretion; and yet, unless you leave more to the discretion of your ministers in Europe than courts usually do, your affairs may sometimes suffer extremely from the distance, which, in the time of war especially, may make it five or six months before the answer to a letter shall be received. I suppose the minister from this court will acquaint Congress with the King's sentiments respecting their very handsome present of a ship of the line. People in general here are much pleased with it.

I communicated, together with my memoir demanding a supply of money, copies of every paragraph in your late letters, which express so strongly the necessity of it. I have been constant in my solicitations both directly, and through the Marquis de Lafayette, who has employed himself diligently and warmly in the business. The negotiations for peace are, I imagine, one cause of the great delay and indecision on this occasion beyond what has been usual, as the quantum may be different if those negotiations do or do not succeed. We have not yet learned what we may expect. We have been told that we shall be aided, but it cannot be to the extent demanded; six millions have been mentioned, but not as a sum fixed. The minister tells me still, that he

is working upon the subject, but cannot yet give a determinative answer. I know his good will to do the best for us that is possible.

It is in vain for me to repeat again what I have so often written, and what I find taken so little notice of, that there are bounds to every thing, and that the faculties of this nation are limited like those of all other nations. Some of you seem to have established as maxims the suppositions, that France has money enough for all her occasions, and all ours besides; and that, if she does not supply us, it is owing to her want of will, or to my negligence. As to the first, I am sure it is not true; and to the second, I can only say I should rejoice as much as any man in being able to obtain more; and I shall also rejoice in the greater success of those who may take my place. You desire to be very particularly acquainted with "every step which tends to negotiation." I am, therefore, encouraged to send you the first part of the "Journal," which accidents, and a long, severe illness interrupted; but which, from notes I have by me, may be continued if thought proper. In its present state, it is hardly fit for the inspection of Congress, certainly not for public view. I confide it therefore to your prudence.*

The arrival of Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens has relieved me from much anxiety, which must have continued, if I had been left to finish the treaty alone; and it has given me the more satisfaction, as I am sure the business has profited by their assistance.

Much of the summer has been taken up in objecting against the powers given by Great Britain, and in removing those objections. The not using any expressions, that

* See this Journal, *supra*, p. 166.

might imply an acknowledgment of our independence, seemed at first industriously to be avowed. But our refusing otherwise to treat, at length induced them to get over that difficulty, and then we came to the point of making propositions. Those made by Mr. Jay and me before the arrival of the other gentlemen, you will find in the paper A, which was sent by the British plenipotentiary to London for the King's consideration. After some weeks, an under-secretary, Mr. Strachey, arrived, with whom we had much contestation about the boundaries and other articles, which he proposed and we settled; some of which he carried to London, and returned with the propositions, some adopted, others omitted or altered, and new ones added, which you will see in paper B. We spent many days in disputing, and at length agreed on and signed the preliminaries, which you will see by this conveyance. The British minister struggled hard for two points, that the favors granted to the loyalists should be extended, and all our fishery contracted. We silenced them on the first, by threatening to produce an account of the mischief done by those people; and as to the second, when they told us they could not possibly agree to it as we requested it, and must refer it to the ministry in London, we produced a new article to be referred at the same time, with a note of facts in support of it, which you have, C.* Apparently,

* The papers alluded to in this letter may be found in the *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. X. pp. 88, 94, 106. The paper marked C was drawn up by Dr. Franklin, and is as follows.

ARTICLE PROPOSED AND READ TO THE COMMISSIONERS BEFORE SIGNING THE PRELIMINARY ARTICLES.

"It is agreed, that his Britannic Majesty will earnestly recommend it to his Parliament to provide for and make a compensation to the merchants and shopkeepers of Boston, whose goods and merchandise were seized and

it seemed, that, to avoid the discussion of this, they suddenly changed their minds, dropped the design of recurring to London, and agreed to allow the fishery as demanded.

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taken out of their stores, warehouses, and shops, by order of General Gage and others of his commanders and officers there; and also to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, for the goods taken away by his army there; and to make compensation, also, for the tobacco, rice, indigo, and negroes, &c., seized and carried off by his armies under Generals Arnold, Cornwallis, and others, from the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, and also for all vessels and cargoes, belonging to the inhabitants of the said United States, which were stopped, seized, or taken, either in the ports, or on the seas, by his governors, or by his ships of war, before the declaration of war against the said States.

"And it is further agreed, that his Britannic Majesty will also earnestly recommend it to his Parliament to make compensation for all the towns, villages, and farms, burnt and destroyed by his troops, or adherents, in the said United States.

FACTS.

"There existed a free commerce, upon mutual faith, between Great Britain and America. The merchants of the former credited the merchants and planters of the latter with great quantities of goods, on the common expectation, that the merchants, having sold the goods, would make the accustomed remittances; that the planters would do the same by the labor of their negroes, and the produce of that labor, tobacco, rice, indigo, &c.

"England, before the goods were sold in America, sends an armed force, seizes those goods in the stores; some even in the ships that brought them, and carries them off; seizes, also, and carries off the tobacco, rice, and indigo, provided by the planters to make returns, and even the negroes, from whose labor they might hope to raise other produce for that purpose.

"Britain now demands that the debts shall, nevertheless, be paid.

"Will she, can she, justly, refuse making compensation for such seizures?

"If a draper, who had sold a piece of linen to a neighbour on credit, should follow him, and take the linen from him by force, and then send a bailiff to arrest him for the debt, would any court of law or equity award the payment of the debt, without ordering a restitution of the cloth?

"Will not the debtors in America cry out, that, if this compensation be not made, they were betrayed by the pretended credit, and are now doubly ruined; first, by the enemy, and then by the negotiators at Paris, the goods and negroes sold them being taken from them, with all they had besides, and they are now to be obliged to pay for what they have been robbed of?"—S.

You will find in the preliminaries some inaccurate and ambiguous expressions, that want explanation, and which may be explained in the definitive treaty; and, as the British ministry excluded our proposition relating to commerce, and the American prohibition of that with England may not be understood to cease merely by our concluding a treaty of peace, perhaps we may then, if the Congress shall think fit to direct it, obtain some compensation for the injuries done us, as a condition of our opening again the trade. Every one of the present British ministry has, while in the ministry, declared the war against us as unjust, and nothing is clearer in reason, than that those, who injure others by an unjust war, should make full reparation. They have stipulated too, in these preliminaries, that, in evacuating our towns, they shall carry off no plunder, which is a kind of acknowledgment that they ought not to have done it before.

The reason given us for dropping the article relating to commerce was, that some statutes were in the way, which must be repealed before a treaty of that kind could be well formed, and that this was a matter to be considered in Parliament.

They wanted to bring their boundary down to the Ohio, and to settle their loyalists in the Illinois country. We did not choose such neighbours.

We communicated all the articles, as soon as they were signed, to Count de Vergennes, (except the separate one,) who thinks we have managed well, and told me, that we had settled what was most apprehended as a difficulty in the work of a general peace, by obtaining the declaration of our independency.

December 14th. I have this day learned, that the prin-

cipal preliminaries between France and England are agreed on, to wit;

1. France is to enjoy the right of fishing and drying on all the west coast of Newfoundland, down to Cape Ray. Miquelon and St. Pierre to be restored, and may be fortified.

2. Senegal remains to France, and Goree to be restored. The Gambia entirely to England.

3. All the places taken from France in the East Indies to be restored, with a certain quantity of territory round them.

4. In the West Indies, Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, to be restored to England; St. Lucia to France. Dominique to remain with France, and St. Vincent's to be neutralized.

5. No Commissioner at Dunkirk.

The points not yet quite settled are the territory round the places in the Indies, and neutralization of St. Vincent's. Apparently these will not create much difficulty.

Holland has yet hardly done any thing in her negotiation.

Spain offers for Gibraltar to restore West Florida and the Bahamas. An addition is talked of the Island of Guadaloupe, which France will cede to Spain in exchange for the other half of Hispaniola, and Spain to England, but England, it is said, chose rather Porto Rico. Nothing yet concluded.

As soon as I received the commission and instructions for treating with Sweden, I waited on the ambassador here, who told me he daily expected a courier on that subject. Yesterday he wrote a note to acquaint me, that he would call on me to-day, having something to communicate to

me. Being obliged to go to Paris, I waited on him, when he showed me the full powers he had just received, and I showed him mine. We agreed to meet on Wednesday next, exchange copies, and proceed to business. His commission has some polite expressions in it, to wit; "that his Majesty thought it for the good of his subjects to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America, who had established their independence, so justly merited, by their courage and constancy;" or to that effect. I imagine this treaty will be soon completed; if any difficulty should arise, I shall take the advice of my colleagues.

I thank you for the copies of Mr. Paine's letter to the Abbé Raynal, which I have distributed into good hands. The errors we see in histories of our times and affairs weaken our faith in ancient history. M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil has here written another history of our revolution; which, however, he modestly calls an *Essay*, and, fearing that there may be errors, and wishing to have them corrected, that his second edition may be more perfect, he has brought me six sets, which he desires me to put into such hands in America, as may be good enough to render him and the public that service. I send them to you for that purpose, by Captain Barney, desiring that one set may be given to Mr. Paine, and the rest where you please. There is a quarto set in the parcel, which please to accept from me.

I have this day signed a common letter to you drawn up by my colleagues, which you will receive herewith. We have kept this vessel longer for two things, a passport promised us from England, and a sum to send in her; but she is likely to depart without both, being all of us im-

patient that Congress should receive early intelligence of our proceedings, and for the money we may probably borrow a frigate.

I am now entering on my seventy-eighth year; public business has engrossed fifty of them; I wish now to be, for the little time I have left, my own master. If I live to see this peace concluded, I shall beg leave to remind the Congress of their promise then to dismiss me. I shall be happy to sing with old Simeon, *Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* With great esteem, &c.

CHAPTER V.

Misunderstanding between Count de Vergennes and Dr. Franklin—The Signing of the Preliminary Treaty—Suggests his Grandson for a Diplomatic Appointment—Mr. Jefferson appointed Minister to France—Definitive Treaty of Peace.

1782–1783.

To Count de Vergennes, dated Passy, 17 December, 1782.

I received the letter your Excellency did me the honor of writing to me on the 15th instant.* The proposal of having a passport from England was agreed to by me the more

* The letter referred to here ran as follows:

FROM COUNT DE VERGENNES TO B. FRANKLIN.

Versailles, 15 December, 1782.

SIR,

I cannot but be surprised, that, after the explanation I have had with you, and the promise you gave, that you would not press the application for an English passport for the sailing of the packet *Washington*, you now inform me, that you have received the passport, and that at ten o'clock to-morrow morning your courier will set out to carry your despatches. I am at a loss, Sir, to explain your conduct, and that of your colleagues on this occasion. You have concluded your preliminary articles without any communication between us, although the instructions from Congress prescribe, that nothing shall be done without the participation of the King. You are about to hold out a certain hope of peace to America, without even informing yourself on the state of the negotiation on our part.

You are wise and discreet, Sir; you perfectly understand what is due to propriety; you have all your life performed your duties. I pray you to consider how you propose to fulfil those, which are due to the King? I

willingly, as I at that time had hopes of obtaining some money to send in the *Washington*, and the passport would have made its transportation safer, with that of our despatches, and of yours also, if you had thought fit to make use of the occasion. Your Excellency objected, as I understood it, that the English ministers, by their letters sent in the same ship, might convey inconvenient expectations into America. It was therefore I proposed not to press for the passport, till your preliminaries were also agreed to. They have sent the passport without being pressed to do it, and they have sent no letters to go under it, and ours will prevent the inconvenience apprehended. In a subsequent conversation, your Excellency mentioned your intention of sending some of the King's cutters, whence I imagined, that detaining the *Washington* was no longer necessary; and it was certainly incumbent on us to give Congress as early an account as possible of our proceedings, who will think it extremely strange to hear of them by other means, without a line from us. I acquainted your Excellency, however, with our intention of despatching that ship, supposing you might possibly have something to send by her.

Nothing has been agreed in the preliminaries contrary to the interests of France; and no peace is to take place between us and England, till you have concluded yours. Your observation is, however, apparently just, that, in not consulting you before they were signed, we have been guilty of neglecting a point of *bienséance*. But, as this was

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am not desirous of enlarging these reflections; I commit them to your own integrity. When you shall be pleased to relieve my uncertainty, I will entreat the King to enable me to answer your demands. I have the honor to be, Sir, with sincere regard, &c. DE VERGENNES.

not from want of respect for the King, whom we all love and honor, we hope it will be excused, and that the great work, which has hitherto been so happily conducted, is so nearly brought to perfection, and is so glorious to his reign, will not be ruined by a single indiscretion of ours. And certainly the whole edifice sinks to the ground immediately, if you refuse on that account to give us any further assistance.

We have not yet despatched the ship, and I beg leave to wait upon you on Friday for your answer.

It is not possible for any one to be more sensible than I am, of what I and every American owe to the King, for the many and great benefits and favors he has bestowed upon us. All my letters to America are proofs of this; all tending to make the same impressions on the minds of my countrymen, that I felt in my own. And I believe, that no Prince was ever more beloved and respected by his own subjects, than the King is by the people of the United States. *The English, I just now learn, flatter themselves they have already divided us.* I hope this little misunderstanding will therefore be kept a secret, and that they will find themselves totally mistaken.*

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* FROM COUNT DE VERGENNES TO M. DE LA LUZERNE.†

Versailles, 19 December, 1782.

SIR,

With this letter I have the honor to send you a translation of the preliminary articles, which the American Plenipotentiaries have agreed to and signed with those of Great Britain, to be made into a treaty when the terms of peace between France and England shall be settled.

You will surely be gratified, as well as myself, with the very extensive advantages, which our allies, the Americans, are to receive from the peace; but you certainly will not be less surprised than I have been, at the conduct

† M. de la Luzerne was at this time the French minister in the United States.—ED.

To Robert Morris, dated Passy, 23 December, 1782.

When I wrote to you on the 14th, I expected to have despatched the *Washington* immediately, though without any money. A little

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of the Commissioners. According to the instructions of Congress, they ought to have done nothing without our participation. I have informed you, that the King did not seek to influence the negotiation any further than his offices might be necessary to his friends. The American Commissioners will not say that I have interfered, and much less that I have wearied them with my curiosity. They have cautiously kept themselves at a distance from me. Mr. Adams, one of them, coming from Holland, where he had been received and served by our ambassador, had been in Paris nearly three weeks, without imagining that he owed me any mark of attention, and probably I should not have seen him till this time, if I had not caused him to be reminded of it.* Whenever I have had occasion to see any one of them, and inquire of them briefly respecting the progress of the negotiation, they have constantly clothed their speech in generalities, giving me to understand that it did not go forward, and that they had no confidence in the sincerity of the British ministry.

Judge of my surprise, when, on the 30th of November, Dr. Franklin informed me that the articles were signed. The reservation retained on our account does not save the infraction of the promise, which we have mutually made, not to sign except conjointly. I owe Dr. Franklin the justice to state, however, that on the next day he sent me a copy of the articles. He will hardly complain that I received them without demonstrations of sensibility. It was not till some days after, that, when this minister had come to see me, I allowed myself to make him perceive that his proceeding in this abrupt signature of the articles had little in it, which could be agreeable to the King. He appeared sensible of it, and excused, in the best manner he could, himself and his colleagues. Our conversation was amicable.

Dr. Franklin spoke to me of his desire to send these articles to the Congress, and said that for this purpose he and his colleagues had agreed to an

* Mr. Adams, in a letter to Mr. Livingston, dated November 11, 1782, said, the Commissioners had been so constantly engaged with the treaty, that he "had not been out to Versailles nor anywhere else." He added; "On Saturday last, the Marquis de Lafayette called upon me, and told me he had been to Versailles, and that the Count de Vergennes had said to him, that he had been informed by the returns of the police, that I was in Paris, but not officially, and he should take it well if I would come and see him. I went out to dine with Dr. Franklin the same day, who had just returned from delivering his memorial, and repeated to me the same message. I said to both, I would go the next morning, and accordingly on Sunday the 9th I went to make my court to his Excellency."—Ed.

misunderstanding prevented it. That was, after some time, got over, and on Friday last an order was given to furnish

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exchange of passports with the English minister, for the safety of the vessels which should be sent. I observed to him, that this form appeared to me dangerous; that, the articles being only provisional and dependent on the fate of our negotiation, which was then very uncertain, I feared this appearance of an intelligence with England, in connexion with the signature of the articles, might make the people in America think a peace was consummated, and embarrass Congress, of whose fidelity I had no suspicion. I added many other reasons, the force of which Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Laurens who accompanied him, seemed to acknowledge. They spared nothing to convince me of the confidence which we ought to have in the fidelity of the United States, and they left me with the assurance that they should conform to my wishes.

You may imagine my astonishment, therefore, when, on the evening of the 15th, I received from Dr. Franklin the letter, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. The tone of this letter seemed to me so singular, that I thought it my duty to write the answer, which I likewise send to you. I am ignorant of the effect which this answer may have produced. I have not since heard from the American Commissioners. The courier has not come for my despatches, and I know not whether he has in reality been sent off. It would be singular, after the intimation which I have given them, if they should not have the curiosity to acquaint themselves with the state of our negotiation, that they may communicate the intelligence to Congress. This negotiation is not yet so far advanced in regard to ourselves, as that of the United States; not that the King, if he had shown as little delicacy in his proceedings as the American Commissioners, might not have signed articles with England long before them. There is no essential difficulty at present between France and England; but the King has been resolved that all his allies should be satisfied, being determined to continue the war, whatever advantage may be offered to him, if England is disposed to wrong any one of them.

We have now only to attend to the interests of Spain and Holland. I have reason to hope that the former will be soon arranged. The fundamental points are established, and little remains but to settle the forms. I think the United States will do well to make an arrangement with Spain. They will be neighbours. As to Holland, I fear her affairs will cause embarrassments and delays. The disposition of the British ministry towards that republic appears to be any thing but favorable.

Such is the present state of things. I trust it will soon be better; but, whatever may be the result, I think it proper that the most influential mem-

me with six hundred thousand livres immediately, to send in that ship; and I was answered by the Count de Ver-

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bers of Congress should be informed of the very irregular conduct of their Commissioners in regard to us. You may speak of it not in the tone of complaint. I accuse no person; I blame no one, not even Dr. Franklin. He has yielded too easily to the bias of his colleagues, who do not pretend to recognise the rules of courtesy in regard to us. All their attentions have been taken up by the English, whom they have met in Paris. If we may judge of the future from what has passed here under our eyes, we shall be but poorly paid for all that we have done for the United States, and for securing to them a national existence.

I will add nothing, in respect to the demand for money, which has been made upon us. You may well judge, if conduct like this encourages us to make demonstrations of our liberality. I am, &c.

DE VERGENNES.

There is no doubt that the lack of *bienséance* complained of in this note, and to which Franklin himself thought it wise to plead guilty, gravely compromised all the Commissioners, and was very near resulting in their abrupt recall. Neither is there any doubt that it resulted mainly from a mistrust of the good faith of the French Government on the part of Messrs. Jay and Adams. There is no authority that I know of for adding Franklin, who would no doubt have deemed it wise to co-operate so far as he did with his colleagues, were his faith in the French ministry never so profound. But there is reason to believe that Mr. Sparks goes too far in saying, as he does in a note to this letter, that "There is no fact in history which is now more susceptible of complete demonstration, than that the suspicions of the American Commissioners on this occasion were utterly without any foundation; that the French ministry, so far from interfering or meddling with the negotiation, kept wholly aloof from it; that they had no design whatever to secure advantages to themselves at the expense of the American claims; and that they were really gratified at the success of the Americans in procuring so good terms as they did. The direct proofs of these facts are abundant; whereas the suspicions of the Commissioners are sustained by no other evidence than that of circumstances, inferences, conjectures, and deceptive appearances."

Aside from the fact that no other event in history is attested to posterity on any higher testimony than that of "circumstances, inferences, conjectures, and deceptive appearances," Mr. Sparks was doubtless ignorant of the existence or at least of the provisions of a secret treaty contracted by France with Spain on the 12th April, 1799, which certainly silences French criticism, and raises presumptions which go far to shelter the Commissioners from the unqualified implications of Mr Sparks. I am indebted to

gennes, that the rest of the six millions should be paid us quarterly in the course of the year 1783. If your drafts

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Mr. Bancroft for a copy of this treaty, which has never been in print, I believe, and from which it will answer my purpose to quote the following articles; referring my readers who may desire a thorough review of the whole question to the forthcoming volume of Mr. Bancroft's history.

"ART. 3.—Their Very Christian and Catholic Majesties renew the obligations of the Article 17 of the family compact, and hereby promise to lend their ears to no proposition, direct or indirect, from their common enemy (England), without communicating the same to each other, nor to sign with the said enemy, any treaty, convention, or other act of whatever nature, without the previous knowledge and consent of the other.

"ART. 4.—His Very Christian Majesty, in exact execution of the engagements which he has contracted with the United States of N. A., has proposed and required that His Catholic Majesty, from the day he shall declare war against England, shall recognise the sovereign independence of the said States, and engages not to lay down his arms till their independence be recognised by the King of Great Britain; this point to constitute the essential basis of any negotiations for a peace which may afterwards be made. The Catholic King has desired and desires to gratify the Very Christian King his nephew, and secure to the United States all the advantages to which they aspire, and which are to be secured; but, as His Catholic Majesty has not yet concluded with them any treaty by which their reciprocal interests are regulated, he reserves to himself to do it, and to enter into a convention at that time as to every thing relating to the said independence. And *from* that instant the Catholic King promises not to form or conclude, nor even mediate for, any treaty or arrangement with the said States, or in relation to them, without the knowledge of the Very Christian King, and without concerting with him every thing having connexion with the aforesaid subject of independence.

"ART. 9.—Their Very Christian and Catholic Majesties promise to make every effort to acquire and secure all the advantages above specified, and to continue their efforts until they have obtained the end proposed, offering mutually not to lay down their arms, nor to make any treaty of peace, truce, or suspension of hostilities, without having at least obtained and being respectively assured of the restitution of Gibraltar, and of the abolition of the treaties relating to the fortifications of Dunkirk, or, failing in this, of every other desired by his Very Christian Majesty.

"ART. 10.—In reference to other conquests, which the two contracting powers may make jointly or severally, they will dispose of them according to circumstances, for the common advantage of the alliance."

No one, we presume, will pretend that such engagements as these on the

make it necessary, I believe we can have it advanced, at least on paying discount. Mr. Grand has been ever since busy collecting the proper species to send it in, and it will go, I suppose, to-morrow or next day. I am glad to make use of this opportunity, and wish the sum could have been larger, as we have got a passport from England for the ship *Washington*, Captain Barney, signed by the King's own hand, the more curious, as it acknowledges us by our title of the *United States of America*.

We should not, however, imagine ourselves already in peace. The other powers are not yet agreed, and war may still continue longer than we expect. Our preliminaries have not yet been communicated to Parliament, and I apprehend there will be great clamors against them when they

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part of France were consistent with those which she had taken with the United States, or that our government ever dreamed that a peace with England was to be dependent upon her surrender of Gibraltar to Spain, the country most hostile to us of any in Europe, except England. It is not probable that the American Commissioners had any suspicion of the existence of any such convention as this; but the relations resulting from such a convention would reveal themselves in a thousand ways, and in time produce nearly the same suspicions and distrusts among the parties most concerned, as if its provisions were actually known to them. There are some secrets too big to keep. This was one of them.

If the existence of this treaty were known to Franklin, he was too wise and prudent a diplomatist to refer to it in his reply to the Count de Vergennes. At that supremely critical moment of our affairs he could better afford to stand himself on the defensive than to put the King of the French in the wrong, from whom he was daily expecting indispensable aid, and from whom in just two days from the date of this letter from Vergennes to Luzerne he actually did receive a new loan of six millions of francs. It is very evident that neither the King nor his Minister of Foreign Affairs cared to press the point against the Commissioners, and for reasons then best known to themselves. See further upon this subject the joint letter from the Commissioners to Robert R. Livingston, Sparks's Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Vol. X. p. 187; Franklin to R. R. Livingston, *infra*; and Life of John Adams, by his grandson, pp. 364-376.—ED.

appear. Hints are already thrown out, that the King has gone beyond his powers; and, if the new ministry do not stand their ground, perhaps the ratification may be prevented. A little more success in the West Indies this winter may totally turn the heads of that giddy nation.

I pressed hard, therefore, for the whole sum demanded, but was told it was impossible, the great efforts to be made this campaign in the East and West Indies (the armies for which are now afloat), and the enormous expense engaged in, having much embarrassed the finances.

Our people certainly ought to do more for themselves. It is absurd, the pretending to be lovers of liberty while they grudge paying for the defence of it. It is said here, that an impost of five per cent. on all goods imported, though a most reasonable proposition, had not been agreed to by all the States, and was therefore frustrated; and that your newspapers acquaint the world with this, with the non-payment of taxes by the people, and with the non-payment of interest to the creditors of the public. The knowledge of these things has hurt our credit, and the loan in Holland, and would prevent our getting any thing here but from the government. The foundation of credit abroad should be laid at home, and certain funds should be prepared and established beforehand, for the regular payment at least of the interest. With sincere esteem and respect, I am, &c.

To Filangieri,* dated Passy, 11 Jan., 1783.

The letter you did me the honour of writing to me in August last, came to my hands when I lay ill of two painful disorders, which con-

* The author of the *Scienza della Legislazione*, four volumes of which appeared 1780–1784. He died in 1788, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, leaving the fifth volume unfinished. I am indebted for this letter in the text to his grandson, the Prince de Filangieri Satriano, whom I met at Naples

fined me near three months, and with the multiplicity of business that followed obliged me to postpone much of my correspondence. I have yesterday received a second letter from you, and I now, without farther delay, sit down to answer them both.

The two first volumes of your excellent work, which were put into my hands by M. Pio, I perused with great pleasure. They are also much esteemed by some very judicious persons to whom I have lent them. I should have been glad of another copy for one of those friends, who is very desirous of procuring it; but I suppose those you mention to have sent to M. Pio did not arrive. I was glad to learn that you were proceeding to consider the criminal laws. None have more need of reformation. They are everywhere in so great disorder, and so much injustice is committed in the execution of them, that I have been sometimes inclined to imagine, less would exist in the world if there were no such laws, and the punishment of injuries were left to private resentment. I am glad therefore that you have not suffered yourself to be discouraged by any objections or apprehensions, and that we may soon expect the satisfaction of seeing the two volumes on that subject which you have now under the press.

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in February, 1873, and who informed me that he was preparing a life of his distinguished ancestor, which he expected to publish in Paris in 1874. He also informed me that Dr. Franklin had sent his grandfather the volume of American Constitutions; that his grandfather returned it with commentaries, and that Franklin again returned it to his grandfather with commentaries on his commentaries. The prince did not know what had become of this book, the loss of which he deplored. All he remembered of it was the curious fact developed in it by one of the commentators, that all the leading statesmen of America seemed chiefly to be concerned in placing restrictions upon the popular will, while the European philosophers or democrats—in those days nearly synonymous terms—were equally zealous in abolishing all restrictions.—ED.

With regard to your project of removing to America, though I am sure that a person of your knowledge, just sentiments, and useful talents would be a valuable acquisition for our country, I cannot encourage you to undertake hastily such a voyage; because for a man to expatriate himself is a serious business, and should be well considered, especially where the distance is so great and the expense of removing thither with a family, of returning if the country should not suit you, will be so heavy. I have no orders or authority of any kind to encourage strangers with expectations of employment by our government, nor am I empowered to be at any expense in transporting them; though our country is open, and strangers may establish themselves there, where they soon become citizens and are respected according to their conduct. Men know, because they feel the inconveniences of their *present* situation; but they do not know those that may, if they change, attend the new one. I wish, therefore, you could see that country by yourself before you carry thither the lady with whom you propose to be united in marriage. You will then be able to form a good judgment how far the removal is likely to be advantageous, and may proceed on surer grounds. England has now acknowledged our independence, and the sovereignty of our Government; and several States of Europe who think a commerce with us may be beneficial to them are preparing to send ministers to reside near the Congress. It is possible to establish a profitable trade between the Kingdom of Naples and America. Should your court be of that opinion, and think fit to employ some one to visit our several States and take information of our productions and wants, the nature of our commerce, etc., etc., perhaps it could not find a fitter person than yourself for

such a mission. I would afford you all the assistance in my power towards its due execution, and by this means your voyage would not only be without expense to you, but might afford you some profit.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 27 Jan., 1783.

—The departure of my dearest friend,* which I learn from your last letter, greatly affects me. To meet with her once more in this life was one of the principal motives of my proposing to visit England again, before my return to America. The last year carried off my friends Dr. Pringle, Dr. Fothergill, Lord Kames, and Lord le Despencer. This has begun to take away the rest, and strikes the hardest. Thus the ties I had to that country, and indeed to the world in general, are loosened one by one, and I shall soon have no attachment left to make me unwilling to follow.

I intended writing when I sent the eleven books, but I lost the time in looking for the twelfth. I wrote with that; and hope it came to hand. I therein asked your counsel about my coming to England. On reflection, I think I can, from my knowledge of your prudence, foresee what it will be, viz. not to come too soon, lest it should seem braving and insulting some who ought to be respected. I shall, therefore, omit that journey till I am near going to America, and then just step over to take leave of my friends, and spend a few days with you. I purpose bringing Ben with me, and perhaps may leave him under your care.

At length we are in peace, God be praised, and long, very long, may it continue. All wars are follies, very expensive, and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by

* Mrs. Stevenson, mother of Mrs. Hewson.—ED.

arbitration? Were they to do it, even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other.

Spring is coming on, when travelling will be delightful. Can you not, when you see your children all at school, make a little party, and take a trip hither? I have now a large house, delightfully situated, in which I could accommodate you and two or three friends, and I am but half an hour's drive from Paris.

In looking forward, twenty-five years seem a long period, but, in looking back, how short! Could you imagine, that it is now full a quarter of a century since we were first acquainted? It was in 1757. During the greatest part of the time, I lived in the same house with my dear deceased friend, your mother; of course you and I conversed with each other much and often. It is to all our honors, that in all that time we never had among us the smallest misunderstanding. Our friendship has been all clear sunshine, without the least cloud in its hemisphere. Let me conclude by saying to you, what I have had too frequent occasions to say to my other remaining old friends, "The fewer we become, the more let us love one another."

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Passy, 15 April, 1783.

You complain sometimes of not hearing from us. It is now near three months since any of us have heard from America. I think our last letters came with General de Rochambeau. There is now a project under consideration for establishing monthly packet boats between France and New York, which I hope will be carried into execution; our correspondence then may be more regular and frequent.

I send herewith another copy of the treaty concluded with Sweden. I hope, however, that you will have received

the former, and that the ratification is forwarded. The King, as the ambassador informs me, is now employed in examining the duties payable in his ports, with a view of lowering them in favor of America, and thereby encouraging and facilitating our mutual commerce.

The definitive treaties have met with great delays, partly by the tardiness of the Dutch, but principally from the distractions in the court of England, where, for six or seven weeks, there was properly no ministry, nor any business effected. They have at last settled a ministry, but of such a composition as does not promise to be lasting. The papers will inform you who they are. It is now said, that Mr. Oswald, who signed the preliminaries, is not to return here, but that Mr. David Hartley comes in his stead to settle the definitive. A Congress is also talked of, and that some use is to be made therein of the mediation formerly proposed of the Imperial courts. Mr. Hartley is an old friend of mine, and a strong lover of peace, so that I hope we shall not have much difficult discussion with him; but I could have been content to have finished with Mr. Oswald, whom we always found very reasonable.

Mr. Laurens, having left Bath, mended in his health, is daily expected at Paris, where Messieurs Jay and Adams still continue. Mr. Jefferson has not yet arrived, nor the *Romulus*, in which ship I am told he was to have taken his passage. I have been the more impatient of this delay, from the expectation given me of full letters by him. It is extraordinary, that we should be so long without any arrivals from America in any part of Europe. We have as yet heard nothing of the reception of the preliminary articles in America, though it is now nearly five months since they were signed.

A multitude of people are continually applying to me personally, and by letters, for information respecting the means of transporting themselves, families, and fortunes to America. I give no encouragement to any of the King's subjects, as I think it would not be right in me to do it without their sovereign's approbation; and, indeed, few offer from France but persons of irregular conduct and desperate circumstances, whom we had better be without; but I think there will be great emigrations from England, Ireland, and Germany. There is a great contest among the ports, which of them shall be of those to be declared *free* for the *American trade*. Many applications are made to me to interest myself in the behalf of all of them; but having no instructions on that head, and thinking it a matter more properly belonging to the consul, I have done nothing in it.

Mr. Barclay is often ill, and I am afraid the settlement of our accounts will be, in his hands, a long operation. I shall be impatient at being detained here on that score after the arrival of my successor. Would it not be well to join Mr. Ridley with Mr. Barclay for that service? He resides in Paris, and seems active in business. I know not, indeed, whether he would undertake it, but wish he may.

The finances here are embarrassed, and a new loan is proposed by way of lottery, in which, it is said by some calculators, the King will pay at the rate of seven per cent. I mention this to furnish you with a fresh convincing proof against cavillers of the King's generosity towards us, in lending us six millions this year at five per cent, and of his concern for our credit, in saving by that sum the honor of Mr. Morris's bills, while those drawn by his own officers abroad have their payment suspended for a year after they

become due. You have been told, that France might help us more liberally if she would. This last transaction is a demonstration of the contrary.

To Count de Vergennes, dated Passy, 5 May, 1783.

It was my intention to pay my devoirs at Versailles to-morrow. I thank your Excellency, nevertheless, for your kind admonition.* I omitted two of the last three days, from a mistaken apprehension, that, being holidays, there would be no court. Mr. Laurens and Mr. Jay are both invalids; and, since my last severe fit of the gout, my legs have continued so weak, that I am hardly able to keep pace with the ministers who walk fast, especially in going up and down stairs.

I beg you to be assured, that whatever deficiency there may be of strength, there is none of respect in, Sir, &c.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 8 May, 1783.

I send you enclosed the copies you desired of the papers I read to you yesterday.† I should be happy if I could see, before I die,

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* FROM COUNT DE VERGENNES TO B. FRANKLIN.

Versailles, 5 May, 1783.

Sir,

I have received the two letters of yesterday and to-day, which you have done me the honor to write to me, and a copy of the three articles discussed between the Commissioners of the United States and Mr. Hartley. You are aware, that I shall want a sufficient time to examine them before submitting to you the observations, which may relate to our reciprocal interests. Receive, in the mean time, my sincere thanks for this communication.

I hope to have the honor of seeing you to-morrow at Versailles. I trust you will be able to be present with the foreign ministers. It is observed that the Commissioners from the United States rarely show themselves here, and inferences are drawn from it, which I am sure their constituents would disavow, if they had a knowledge of them. I have the honor to be, &c.

DE VERGENNES.

† Against privateering.—ED.

the proposed improvement of the law of nations established. The miseries of mankind would be diminished by it, and the happiness of millions secured and promoted. If the practice of privateering could be profitable to any civilized nation, it might be so to us Americans; since we are so situated on the globe, as that the rich commerce of Europe with the West Indies, consisting of manufactures, sugars, &c., is obliged to pass before our doors, which enables us to make short and cheap cruises, while our own commerce is in such bulky, low-priced articles, as that ten of our ships taken by you are not equal in value to one of yours, and you must come far from home, at a great expense, to look for them. I hope, therefore, that this proposition, if made by us, will appear in its true light, as having humanity only for its motive. I do not wish to see a new Barbary rising in America, and our long extended coast occupied by piratical states. I fear, lest our privateering success in the two last wars should already have given our people too strong a relish for that most mischievous kind of gaming, mixed blood; and, if a stop is not now put to the practice, mankind may hereafter be more plagued with American corsairs, than they have been and are with the Turkish. Try, my friend, what you can do, in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage that power seems to give them, of plundering others, and thereby impeding the mutual communications among men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families, artisans, and cultivators of the earth, the most peaceable and innocent part of the human species. With great esteem and affection, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most sincerely.

To Robert R. Livingston, dated Passy, 22 July, 1783.

* * * I shall now answer yours of March the 26th, May the 9th, and May the 31st. It gave me great pleasure to learn by the first, that the news of peace diffused general satisfaction. I will not now take it upon me to justify the apparent reserve, respecting this court, at the signature, which you disapprove. We have touched upon it in our general letter. I do not see, however, that they have much reason to complain of that transaction. Nothing was stipulated to their prejudice, and none of the stipulations were to have force, but by a subsequent act of their own. I suppose, indeed, that they have not complained of it, or you would have sent us a copy of the complaint, that we might have answered it. I long since satisfied Count de Vergennes about it here. We did what appeared to all of us best at the time, and, if we have done wrong, the Congress will do right, after hearing us, to censure us. Their nomination of five persons to the service seems to mark, that they had some dependence on our joint judgment, since one alone could have made a treaty by direction of the French ministry as well as twenty.

I will only add, that, with respect to myself, neither the letter from M. de Marbois, handed us through the British negotiators (a suspicious channel), nor the conversations respecting the fishery, the boundaries, the royalists, &c., recommending moderation in our demands, are of weight sufficient in my mind to fix an opinion, that this court wished to restrain us in obtaining any degree of advantage we could prevail on our enemies to accord; since those discourses are fairly resolvable, by supposing a very natural apprehension, that we, relying too much on the ability of France to continue the war in our favor, and supply us

constantly with money, might insist on more advantages than the English would be willing to grant, and thereby lose the opportunity of making peace, so necessary to all our friends.

I ought not, however, to conceal from you, that one of my colleagues* is of a very different opinion from me in these matters. He thinks the French minister one of the greatest enemies of our country, that he would have straitened our boundaries, to prevent the growth of our people; contracted our fishery, to obstruct the increase of our seamen; and retained the royalists among us, to keep us divided; that he privately opposes all our negotiations with foreign courts, and afforded us, during the war, the assistance we received, only to keep it alive, that we might be so much the more weakened by it; that to think of gratitude to France is the greatest of follies, and that to be influenced by it would ruin us. He makes no secret of his having these opinions, expresses them publicly, sometimes in presence of the English ministers, and speaks of hundreds of instances which he could produce in proof of them. None, however, have yet appeared to me, unless the conversations and letter above-mentioned are reckoned such.

If I were not convinced of the real inability of this court to furnish the further supplies we asked, I should suspect these discourses of a person in his station might have influenced the refusal; but I think they have gone no further than to occasion a suspicion, that we have a considerable party of Antigallicans in America, who are not Tories, and consequently to produce some doubts of the continuance of our friendship. As such doubts may hereafter have a

* Mr. Adams.— ED.

bad effect, I think we cannot take too much care to remove them; and it is therefore I write this, to put you on your guard, (believing it my duty, though I know that I hazard by it a mortal enmity), and to caution you respecting the insinuations of this gentleman against this court, and the instances he supposes of their ill will to us, which I take to be as imaginary as I know his fancies to be, that Count de Vergennes and myself are continually plotting against him, and employing the news-writers of Europe to depreciate his character, &c. But as Shakspeare says, "Trifles light as air," &c. I am persuaded, however, that he means well for his country, is always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes, and in some things, absolutely out of his senses.

When the commercial article, mentioned in yours of the 26th was struck out of our proposed preliminaries by the British ministry, the reason given was, that sundry acts of Parliament still in force were against it, and must be first repealed, which I believe was really their intention, and sundry bills were accordingly brought in for that purpose; but, new ministers with different principles succeeding, a commercial proclamation totally different from those bills has lately appeared. I send enclosed a copy of it. We shall try what can be done in the Definitive Treaty towards setting aside that proclamation; but, if it should be persisted in, it will then be a matter worthy the attentive discussion of Congress, whether it will be most prudent to retort with a similar regulation in order to force its repeal (which may possibly tend to bring on another quarrel), or to let it pass without notice, and leave it to its own inconvenience, or rather impracticability, in the execution, and to the complaints of the West India planters, who must all

pay much dearer for our produce, under those restrictions.

I am not enough master of the course of our commerce to give an opinion on this particular question, and it does not behoove me to do it; yet I have seen so much embarrassment and so little advantage in all the restraining and compulsive systems, that I feel myself strongly inclined to believe, that a State, which leaves all her ports open to all the world upon equal terms, will, by that means, have foreign commodities cheaper, sell its own productions dearer, and be on the whole the most prosperous. I have heard some merchants say, that there is ten per cent difference between *Will you buy?* and *Will you sell?* When foreigners bring us their goods, they want to part with them speedily, that they may purchase their cargoes and despatch their ships, which are at constant charges in our ports; we have then the advantage of their *Will you buy?* And when they demand our produce, we have the advantage of their *Will you sell?* And the concurring demands of a number also contribute to raise our prices. Thus both those questions are in our favor at home, against us abroad.

The employing, however, of our own ships and raising a breed of seamen among us, though it should not be a matter of so much private profit as some imagine, is nevertheless of political importance, and must have weight in considering this subject.

The judgment you make of the conduct of France in the peace, and the greater glory acquired by her moderation than even by her arms, appears to me perfectly just. The character of this court and nation seems, of late years, to be considerably changed. The ideas of aggrandizement by conquest are out of fashion, and those of commerce are

more enlightened and more generous than heretofore. We shall soon, I believe, feel something of this in our being admitted to a greater freedom of trade with their Islands. The wise here think France great enough; and its ambition at present seems to be only that of justice and magnanimity towards other nations, fidelity and utility to its allies.

I have received no answer yet from Congress to my request of being dismissed from their service. They should, methinks, reflect, that if they continue me here, the faults I may henceforth commit, through the infirmities of age, will be rather theirs than mine. I am glad my Journal afforded you any pleasure. I will, as you desire, endeavour to continue it.

Mr. Barclay has in his hands the affair of the *Alliance* and *Bon Homme Richard.* I will afford him all the assistance in my power, but it is a very perplexed business. That expedition, though for particular reasons under American commissions and colors, was carried on at the King's expense, and under his orders. M. de Chaumont was the agent appointed by the Minister of Marine to make the outfit. He was also chosen by all the captains of the squadron, as appears by an instrument under their hands, to be their agent, receive, sell, and divide prizes, &c. The Crown bought two of them at public sale, and the money, I understand, is lodged in the hands of a responsible person at L'Orient. M. de Chaumont says he has given in his accounts to the Marine, and that he has no more to do with the affair, except to receive a balance due to him.

I am sorry to find, that you have thoughts of quitting the service. I do not think your place can be easily well supplied. You mention, that an entire new arrangement,

with respect to foreign affairs, is under consideration. I wish to know whether any notice is likely to be taken in it of my grandson. He has now gone through an apprenticeship of near seven years in the ministerial business, and is very capable of serving the States in that line, as possessing all the requisites of knowledge, zeal, activity, language, and address. He is well liked here, and Count de Vergennes has expressed to me in warm terms his very good opinion of him. The late Swedish ambassador, Count de Krutz, who has gone home to be Prime Minister, desired I would endeavour to procure his being sent to Sweden, with a public character, assuring me, that he should be glad to receive him there as our minister, and that he knew it would be pleasing to the King. The present Swedish ambassador has also proposed the same thing to me, as you will see by a letter of his, which I enclose. One of the Danish ministers, M. Walterstorf, who will probably be sent in a public character to Congress, has also expressed his wish, that my grandson may be sent to Denmark. But it is not my custom to solicit employments for myself, or any of my family, and I shall not do it in this case. I only hope, that if he is not to be employed in your new arrangement, I may be informed of it as soon as possible, that, while I have strength left for it, I may accompany him in a tour to Italy, returning through Germany, which I think he may make to more advantage with me than alone, and which I have long promised to afford him, as a reward for his faithful service, and his tender filial attachment to me.

Since our trade is laid open, and no longer a monopoly to England, all Europe seems desirous of sharing in it, and for that purpose to cultivate our friendship. That it may be better known everywhere, what sort of people, and what

kind of government they will have to treat with, I prevailed with our friend, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, to translate our book of Constitutions into French, and I presented copies to all the foreign ministers. I send you one herewith. They are much admired by the politicians here, and it is thought will induce considerable emigrations of substantial people from different parts of Europe to America. It is particularly a matter of wonder, that, in the midst of a cruel war raging in the bowels of our country, our sages should have the firmness of mind to sit down calmly and form such complete plans of government. They add considerably to the reputation of the United States.

You will see by the enclosed copy of a letter I received from Algiers, the danger two of our ships escaped last winter. I think it not improbable that those rovers may be privately encouraged by the English to fall upon us, and to prevent our interference in the carrying trade; for I have in London heard it is a maxim among the merchants, that, if *there were no Algiers, it would be worth England's while to build one.* I wonder, however, that the rest of Europe do not combine to destroy those nests, and secure commerce from their future piracies.

The Duke of Manchester, who has always been our friend in the House of Lords, is now here as ambassador from England. I dine with him to-day, 26th, and, if any thing of importance occurs, I will add it in a postscript.

To the President of Congress, dated Passy, 31 August, 1783.

After a continued course of treating for nine months, the English ministry have at length come to a resolution to lay aside, for the present, all the new propositions, that have been made and agreed to, their own as well as ours; and

they offer to sign again as a Definitive Treaty, the articles of November the 30th, 1782, the ratifications of which have already been exchanged. We have agreed to this, and on Wednesday next, the third of September, it will be signed, with all the definitive treaties, establishing a general peace, which may God long continue.*

* At last, on the 3d day of September, 1782, and after a protracted negotiation of over two years, a definitive treaty of peace between England and the United States was signed by the American Commissioners and by Mr. Hartley, the English Commissioner, at his apartment in the Hôtel de York. On the same day, a treaty of peace between France and England was signed at Versailles. The treaty with the United States was unanimously ratified by the King of England on the 9th of April following. With this act terminated the seven years' war of independence, and the United States of America took their place in the family of nations.—ED.

CHAPTER VI.

The Fishery Calumny—Franklin requests to be relieved from his Mission—The Demoralizing Fruits of a Depreciated Currency—Josiah Quincy, Jr.—Thomas Hollis—Mistrust of England—The American Constitutions in Europe—Prerogative of Government—Renews his Request to be recalled—Asks a Foreign Appointment for William Temple Franklin.

1783.

To Charles J. Fox, dated Passy, 5 September, 1783.

I RECEIVED in its time the letter you did me the honor of writing to me by Mr. Hartley; and I cannot let him depart, without expressing my satisfaction in his conduct towards us, and applauding the prudence of that choice, which sent us a man possessed of such a spirit of conciliation, and of all that frankness, sincerity, and candor, which naturally produce confidence, and thereby facilitate the most difficult negotiations. Our countries are now happily at peace, on which I congratulate you most cordially; and I beg you to be assured, that as long as I have any concern in public affairs, I shall readily and heartily concur with you in promoting every measure that may tend to promote the common felicity.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 6 Sept., 1783.

Enclosed is my letter to Mr. Fox. I beg you would assure him, that my expressions of esteem for him are not mere professions. I really think him a *great* man, and I should not think so, if

I did not believe he was at bottom, and would prove himself a *good* one. Guard him against mistaken notions of the American people. You have deceived yourselves too long with vain expectations of reaping advantage from our little discontents. We are more thoroughly an enlightened people, with respect to our political interests, than perhaps any other under heaven. Every man among us reads, and is so easy in his circumstances as to have leisure for conversations of improvement, and for acquiring information. Our domestic misunderstandings, when we have them, are of small extent, though monstrously magnified by your microscopic newspapers. He who judges from them, that we are on the point of falling into anarchy, or returning to the obedience of Britain, is like one who, being shown some spots in the sun, should fancy, that the whole disk would soon be overspread with them, and that there would be an end of daylight. The great body of intelligence among our people, surrounds and overpowers our petty dissensions, as the sun's great mass of fire diminishes and destroys his spots. Do not, therefore, any longer delay the evacuation of New York, in the vain hope of a new revolution in your favor, if such a hope has indeed had any effect in occasioning the delay. It is now nine months since the evacuations were promised. You expect with reason, that the people of New York should do your merchants justice in the payment of their old debts; consider the injustice you do them in keeping them so long out of their habitations, and out of their business, by which they might have been enabled to make payment.

There is no truth more clear to me than this, that the great interest of our two countries is a thorough reconciliation. Restraints on the freedom of commerce and inter-

course between us, can afford no advantage equivalent to the mischief they will do, by keeping up ill humor, and promoting a total alienation. Let you and me, my dear friend, do our best towards advancing and securing that reconciliation. We can do nothing, that will in a dying hour afford us more solid satisfaction.

I wish you a prosperous journey, and a happy sight of your friends.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 7 Sept., 1783.

I received your kind letter of the 9th past. I am glad, that the little books are pleasing to you and your children, and that the children improve by them.

My grandson Bache has been four years at school at Geneva, and is but lately come home to me here. I find reason to be satisfied with the improvement he has made in his learning. He translates common Latin readily into French, but his English has suffered for want of use; though I think he would readily recover it, if he were awhile at your school at Cheam, and at the same time be going on with his Latin and Greek. You were once so kind as to offer to take him under your care; would that be still convenient to you? He is docile and of gentle manners, ready to receive and follow good advice, and will set no bad example to your *other* children. He gains every day upon my affections.

I long much to see you and yours, and my other friends in England, but I have not yet determined on the journey. Our definitive treaty of peace being now signed, I have indeed less to confine me here, and might make a short excursion without much inconvenience; but short days and winter are coming on, and I think I can hardly undertake such an expedition before the spring of next year.

With regard to the future establishment of your children, which you say you want to consult me about, I am still of opinion, that America will afford you more chances of doing it well than England. All the means of good education are plenty there, the general manners are simple and pure, temptations to vice and folly fewer, the profits of industry in business as great and sure as in England; and there is one advantage more, which your command of money will give you there, I mean the laying out a part of your fortune in new land, now to be had extremely cheap; but which must be increased immensely in value, before your children come of age, by the rapid population of the country. If you should arrive there while I live, you know you may depend on every assistance in my power to afford you, and I think my children will have a pleasure too in serving their father's friend. I do not offer it as a motive, that you will be much esteemed and respected there; for that you are, and must be, everywhere; but give me leave to flatter myself, that my being made happier in my last years by your neighbourhood and society may be some inducement to you.

I forwarded your letter to Mr. Williams. Temple is always with me, being my secretary. He presents his respects to you. I have been lately ill with a fit of the gout, if that may indeed be called a disease. I rather suspect it to be a remedy, since I always find my health and vigor of mind improved after the fit is over.

To John Jay, dated Passy, 10 Sept., 1783.

I have received a letter from a very respectable person in America, containing the following words, viz.

"It is confidently reported, propagated, and believed by

some among us, that the Court of France was at the bottom against our obtaining the fishery and territory in that great extent, in which both are secured to us by the treaty; that our minister at that court favored, or did not oppose, this design against us; and that it was entirely owing to the firmness, sagacity, and disinterestedness of Mr. Adams, with whom Mr. Jay united, that we have obtained these important advantages."

It is not my purpose to dispute any share of the honor of that treaty, which the friends of my colleagues may be disposed to give them; but, having now spent fifty years of my life in public offices and trusts, and having still one ambition left, that of carrying the character of fidelity at least to the grave with me, I cannot allow that I was behind any of them in zeal and faithfulness. I therefore think, that I ought not to suffer an accusation, which falls little short of treason to my country, to pass without notice, when the means of effectual vindication are at hand. You, Sir, were a witness of my conduct in that affair. To you and my other colleagues I appeal, by sending to each a similar letter with this, and I have no doubt of your readiness to do a brother Commissioner justice, by certificates that will entirely destroy the effect of that accusation.*

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* The replies of Messrs. Jay and Adams were as follows:

"Passy, 11 September, 1783.

"SIR,

"I have been favored with your letter of yesterday, and will answer it explicitly. I have no reason whatever to believe, that you were averse to our obtaining the full extent of boundary and fishery secured to us by the treaty. Your conduct respecting them throughout the negotiation indicated a strong, a steady attachment to both those objects, and, in my opinion, promoted the attainment of them.

"I remember, that, in a conversation, which M. de Rayneval, the first Secretary of Count de Vergennes, had with you and me, in the summer of

To Josiah Quincy, dated Passy, 11 Sept., 1783.

I lament with you the many mischiefs, the injustice, the corruption of manners, &c., that attended a depreciating currency. It is some

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1782, you contended for our full right to the fishery, and argued it on various principles.

"Your letters to me, when in Spain, considered our territory as extending to the Mississippi, and expressed your opinion against ceding the navigation of that river, in very strong and pointed terms.

"In short, Sir, I do not recollect the least difference in sentiment between us respecting the boundaries or fisheries. On the contrary, we were unanimous and united in adhering to and insisting on them. Nor did I perceive the least disposition in either of us to recede from our claims, or be satisfied with less than we obtained. I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, &c.

"JOHN JAY."

FROM JOHN ADAMS TO B. FRANKLIN.

Paris, 13 September, 1783.

SIR,

I have received the letter, which you did me the honor to write to me on the 10th of this month, in which you say you have received a letter from a very respectable person in America, containing the following words, viz. "It is confidently reported, propagated, and believed by some among us, that the court of France was at the bottom against our obtaining the fishery and territory in that great extent, in which both are secured to us by the treaty; that our minister at that court favored, or did not oppose, this design against us, and that it was entirely owing to the firmness, sagacity, and disinterestedness of Mr. Adams, with whom Mr. Jay united, that we have obtained those important advantages."

It is unnecessary for me to say any thing upon this subject, more than to quote the words which I wrote in the evening of the 30th of November, 1782, and which have been received and read in Congress, viz. "As soon as I arrived in Paris, I waited on Mr. Jay, and learned from him the rise and progress of the negotiation. Nothing that has happened, since the beginning of the controversy in 1761, has ever struck me more forcibly or affected me more intimately than that entire coincidence of principles and opinion between him and me. In about three days I went out to Passy, and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin, and entered largely into conversation with him upon the course and present state of our foreign affairs. I told him my opinion without reserve of the policy of this court, and of the principles, wisdom, and firmness with which Mr. Jay had conducted the negotiation in his sickness and my absence, and that I was determined to

consolation to me, that I washed my hands of that evil by predicting it in Congress, and proposing means, that would have been effectual to prevent it if they had been adopted. Subsequent operations, that I have executed, demonstrate that my plan was practicable; but it was unfortunately rejected. Considering all our mistakes and mismanagements, it is wonderful we have finished our affairs so well, and so soon. Indeed, I am wrong in using that expression, "*we* have finished our affairs so well." Our blunders have been many, and they serve to manifest the hand of Providence more clearly in our favor; so that we may much more properly say, "These are *thy* doings, O Lord, and they are marvellous in our eyes."

Mr. Storer, whom you recommended to me, is now in England. He needed none of the advice you desired me to give him. His behaviour here was unexceptionable, and he gained the esteem of all that knew him.

The epitaph on my dear and much esteemed young friend,* is too well written to be capable of improvement by any corrections of mine. Your moderation appears in it, since the natural affection of a parent has not induced you to exaggerate his virtues. I shall always mourn his loss with you, a loss not easily made up to his country.

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support Mr. Jay to the utmost of my power in pursuit of the same system. The Doctor heard me patiently and said nothing.

"The first conference we had afterwards with Mr. Oswald in considering one point and another, Dr. Franklin turned to Mr. Jay and said, 'I am of your opinion, and will go on with these gentlemen without consulting this court.' He has accordingly met us in most of our conferences, and has gone on with us in entire harmony and unanimity throughout, and has been able and useful, both by his sagacity and reputation, in the whole negotiation." I have the honor to be, very respectfully, Sir,

JOHN ADAMS.

* Josiah Quincy, Junior.—ED.

How differently constituted was his noble and generous mind from that of the miserable calumniators you mention. Having plenty of merit in himself, he was not jealous of the appearance of merit in others, but did justice to their characters with as much pleasure as these people do injury. It is now near two years since your friendship induced you to acquaint me with some of their accusations. I guessed easily at the quarter from whence they came; but conscious of my innocence, and unwilling to disturb public operations by private resentment or contentions, I passed them over in silence; and I have not, till within these few days, taken the least step towards my vindication. Informed that the practice of abusing me continues, and that some heavy charges are lately made against me, respecting my conduct in the treaty, written from Paris and propagated among you, I have demanded of all my colleagues that they do me justice, and I have no doubt of receiving it from each of them. I did not think it necessary to justify myself to you, by answering the calumnies you mentioned. I knew you did not believe them.

It was improbable, that I should at this distance combine with anybody to urge the redemption of the paper on those unjust terms, having no interest in such redemption. It was impossible, that I should have traded with the public money, since I had not traded with any money, either separately or jointly with any other person, directly or indirectly, to the value of a shilling since my being in France. And the fishery, which it was said I had relinquished, had not then come in question, nor had I ever dropped a syllable to that purpose in word or writing; but was always firm in this principle, that, having had a common right with the English to the fisheries while connected with that nation,

and having contributed equally with our blood and treasure in conquering what had been gained from the French, we had an undoubted right, in breaking up our partnership, to a fair division. As to the two charges of age and weakness, I must confess the first, but I am not quite so clear in the latter; and perhaps my adversaries may find that they presumed a little too much upon it, when they ventured to attack me.

But enough of these petty personalities. I quit them to rejoice with you, in the *peace* God has blest us with, and in the prosperity it gives us a prospect of. The definitive treaty was signed the 3d instant. We are now friends with England and with all mankind. May we never see another war, for in my opinion *there never was a good war, or a bad peace.*

To Thomas Brand Hollis, dated Passy, 5 Oct., 1783.

I received but lately (though sent in June) your most valuable present of the "Memoirs of Thomas Hollis," who was truly, as you describe him in your letter, "a good citizen of the world, and a faithful friend of America." America, too, is extremely sensible of his benevolence and great beneficence towards her, and will ever revere his memory. These volumes are a proof of what I have sometimes had occasion to say, in encouraging people to undertake difficult public services, that it is prodigious the quantity of good that may be done by one man, *if he will make a business of it.* It is equally surprising to think of the very little that is done by many; for, such is the general frivolity of employments and amusements of the rank we call *gentlemen*, that every century may have seen three successions of a set of a thousand each, in every kingdom of Europe, (gentlemen too,

of equal or superior fortune,) no one of which sets, in the course of their lives, has done the good effected by this man alone! Good, not only to his own nation, and to his contemporaries, but to distant countries, and to late posterity; for such must be the effect of his multiplying and distributing copies of the works of our best English writers, on subjects the most important to the welfare of society.

I knew him personally but little. I sometimes met with him at the Royal Society and the Society of Arts; but he appeared shy of my acquaintance, though he often sent me valuable presents, such as "Hamilton's Works," "Sidney's Works," &c., which are now among the most precious ornaments of my library. We might possibly, if we had been more intimate, have concerted some useful operations together; but he loved to do his good alone and secretly; and I find besides, in perusing these Memoirs, that I was a doubtful character with him. I do not respect him less for his error; and I am obliged to the editors for the justice they have done me. They have made a little mistake in page 400, where a letter, which appeared in a London paper, January 7th, 1768, is said to have been written by Mr. Adams. It was written by me, and is reprinted in Mr. Vaughan's Collection of my Political Pieces, p. 231. This erratum is of no great importance, but may be corrected in a future edition.

I see Mr. Hollis had a collection of curious medals. If he had been still living, I should certainly have sent him one of the medals that I have caused to be struck here. I think the countenance of my *Liberty* would have pleased him. I suppose you possess the collection, and have the same taste. I beg you therefore to accept of one of these medals as a mark of my respect.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 16 October, 1783.

* * * What would you think of a proposition, if I should make it, of a compact between England, France, and America? America would be as happy as the Sabine girls, if she could be the means of uniting in perpetual peace her father and her husband. What repeated follies are those repeated wars! You do not want to conquer and govern one another. Why then should you be continually employed in injuring and destroying one another? How many excellent things might have been done to promote the internal welfare of each country; what bridges, roads, canals, and other useful public works and institutions, tending to the common felicity, might have been made and established with the money and men foolishly spent during the last seven centuries by our mad wars in doing one another mischief! You are near neighbours, and each have very respectable qualities. Learn to be quiet and to respect each other's rights. You are all Christians. One is *The Most Christian King*, and the other *Defender of the Faith*. Manifest the propriety of these titles by your future conduct. "By this," says Christ, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." "Seek peace, and ensue it."

To the President of Congress, dated Passy, 25 December, 1783.

It was certainly disagreeable to the English ministers, that all their treaties for peace were carried on under the eye of the French court. This began to appear towards the conclusion, when Mr. Hartley refused going to Versailles, to sign there with the other powers our definitive treaty, and insisted on its being done at Paris, which we in good humor complied with, but at an earlier hour, that we might have time to

acquaint Count de Vergennes before he was to sign with the Duke of Manchester.

With respect to the British court, we should, I think, be constantly upon our guard, and impress strongly upon our minds, that, though it has made peace with us, it is not in truth reconciled either to us, or to its loss of us, but still flatters itself with hopes, that some change in the affairs of Europe, or some disunion among ourselves, may afford them an opportunity of recovering their dominion, punishing those who have most offended, and securing our future dependence. It is easy to see by the general turn of the ministerial newspapers (light things, indeed, as straws and feathers, but like them they show which way the wind blows), and by the malignant improvement their ministers make, in all the foreign courts, of every little accident or dissension among us, the riot of a few soldiers at Philadelphia, the resolves of some town meetings, the reluctance to pay taxes, &c., all which are exaggerated, to represent our government as so many anarchies, of which the people themselves are weary, and the Congress as having lost its influence, being no longer respected; I say it is easy to see from this conduct, that they bear us no good will, and that they wish the reality of what they are pleased to imagine. They have, too, a numerous royal progeny to provide for, some of whom are educated in the military line. In these circumstances we cannot be too careful to preserve the friendships we have acquired abroad, and the union we have established at home, to secure our credit by a punctual discharge of our obligations of every kind, and our reputation by the wisdom of our councils; since we know not how soon we may have a fresh occasion for friends, for credit, and for reputation.

The extravagant misrepresentations of our political state

in foreign countries, made it appear necessary to give them better information, which I thought could not be more effectually and authentically done, than by publishing a translation into French, now the most general language in Europe, of the book of Constitutions, which had been printed by order of Congress. This I accordingly got well done, and presented two copies, handsomely bound, to every foreign minister here, the one for himself, the other more elegant for his Sovereign. It has been well taken, and has afforded matter of surprise to many, who had conceived mean ideas of the state of civilization in America, and could not have expected so much political knowledge and sagacity had existed in our wilderness. And from all parts I have the satisfaction to hear, that our constitutions in general are much admired. I am persuaded, that this step will not only tend to promote the emigration to our country of substantial people from all parts of Europe, by the numerous copies I shall disperse, but will facilitate our future treaties with foreign courts, who could not before know what kind of government and people they had to treat with. As, in doing this, I have endeavoured to further the apparent views of Congress in the first publication, I hope it may be approved, and the expense allowed. I send herewith one of the copies.

To Robert Morris, dated Passy, 25 December, 1783.

The remissness of our people in paying taxes is highly blamable; the unwillingness to pay them is still more so. I see, in some resolutions of town meetings, a remonstrance against giving Congress the power to take, as they call it, the people's money out of their pockets, though only to pay the interest and principal of debts duly contracted. They seem to mistake the

point. Money, justly due from the people, is their creditors' money, and no longer the money of the people, who, if they withhold it, should be compelled to pay by some law.

All property, indeed, except the savage's temporary cabin, his bow, his matchcoat, and other little acquisitions, absolutely necessary for his subsistence, seems to me to be the creature of public convention. Hence the public has the right of regulating descents, and all other conveyances of property, and even of limiting the quantity and the uses of it. All the property that is necessary to a man, for the conservation of the individual and the propagation of the species, is his natural right, which none can justly deprive him of; but all property superfluous to such purposes is the property of the public, who, by their laws, have created it, and who may therefore by other laws dispose of it, whenever the welfare of the public shall demand such disposition. He that does not like civil society on these terms, let him retire and live among savages. He can have no right to the benefits of society, who will not pay his club towards the support of it.

I am sorry for the public's sake, that you are about to quit your office, but on personal considerations I shall congratulate you; for I cannot conceive of a more happy man, than he, who having been long loaded with public cares, finds himself relieved from them, and enjoying repose in the bosom of his friends and family.

To Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress, dated Passy, 26 December, 1783.

I congratulate you very sincerely on your appointment to that very honorable station, the Presidency of Congress. Every testimony you receive of the public sense of your services and talents, gives me pleasure.

I have written to you a long letter on business, in my

quality of minister. This is a private letter, respecting my personal concerns, which I presume to trouble you with on the score of our ancient friendship.

In a letter of the 12th of March, 1781, I stated my age and infirmities to the Congress, and requested they would be pleased to recall me, that I might enjoy the little left me of the evening of life in repose, and in the sweet society of my friends and family. I was answered by the then President, that, when peace should be made, if I persisted in the same request, it should be granted; I acquiesced; the preliminaries were signed in November, 1782, and I then repeated my petition.* A year is past, and I have no answer. Undoubtedly, if the Congress should think my continuing here necessary for the public service, I ought, as a good citizen, to submit to their judgment and pleasure; but, as they may easily supply my place to advantage, that cannot be the case. I suppose, therefore, that it is merely the multiplicity of more important affairs, that has put my request out of their mind. What I would then desire of you is, to put this matter in train to be moved and answered as soon as possible, that I may arrange my affairs accordingly.

In the first letter above mentioned, to which I beg leave to refer you, I gave a character of my grandson, William Temple Franklin, and solicited for him the favor and protection of Congress. I have nothing to abate of that character; on the contrary, I think him so much improved as to be capable of executing, with credit to himself and advantage to the public, any employment in Europe the Congress may think fit to honor him with. He has been

* See a letter to Robert R. Livingston, dated December 5th, 1782.—ED.

seven years in the service, and is much esteemed by all that know him, particularly by the minister here, who, since my new disorder (the stone) makes my going to Versailles inconvenient to me, transacts our business with him in the most obliging and friendly manner. It is natural for me, who love him, to wish to see him settled before I die, in some employ that may probably be permanent; and I hope you will be so good to me, as to get that affair likewise moved and carried through in his favor.

He has, I think, this additional merit to plead, that he has served in my office as secretary several years, for the small salary of three hundred louis a year, while the Congress gave one thousand a year to the secretaries of other ministers, who had not half the employ for a secretary that I had. For it was long before a consul was sent here, and we had all that business on our hands, with a great deal of admiralty business in examining and condemning captures, taken by our cruisers and by the French cruisers under American commissions; besides the constant attendance in examining and recording the acceptances of the Congress bills of exchange, which has been, from the immense number, very fatiguing; with many other extra affairs, not usually occurring to other ministers, such as the care of the prisoners in England, and the constant correspondence relating to them; in all of which he served me as secretary, with the assistance only of a clerk at low wages (fifty louis a year), so that the saving has been very considerable to the public.

CHAPTER VII.

The Usefulness of Enemies—Order of the Cincinnati—Absurdity of descending Honors—The American Eagle as a National Symbol criticised—Reasons for preferring the Native American Turkey—Oia Vanitas—Political Disorders in England—Her Last Resource—Franklin's Notion of his Infallibility—Mesmer and Mesmerism—The Way to make Money lent do the most Good—Cotton Mather—The Final Ratification of the Treaty.

1784.

To John Jay, dated Passy, 6 Jan., 1784.

I RECEIVED your kind letter of the 26th past, and immediately sent that enclosed to Mrs. Jay, whom I saw a few days since with the children, all perfectly well. It is a happy thing, that the little ones are so finely past the smallpox, and I congratulate you upon it most cordially.

It is true, as you have heard, that I have the stone, but not that I have had thoughts of being cut for it. It is as yet very tolerable. It gives me no pain but when in a carriage on the pavement, or when I make some sudden quick movement. If I can prevent its growing larger, which I hope to do by abstemious living and gentle exercise, I can go on pretty comfortably with it to the end of my journey, which can now be at no great distance. I am cheerful, enjoy the company of my friends, sleep well, have sufficient appetite, and my stomach performs well its functions. The

latter is very material to the preservation of health. I therefore take no drugs lest I should disorder it. You may judge that my disease is not very grievous, since I am more afraid of the medicines than of the malady.

It gives me pleasure to learn from you, that my friends still retain their regard for me. I long to see them again, but I doubt I shall hardly accomplish it. If our commission for the treaty of commerce were arrived, and we were at liberty to treat in England, I might then come over to you, supposing the English ministry disposed to enter into such a treaty.

I have, as you observe, some enemies in England, but they are my enemies as an *American;* I have also two or three in America, who are my enemies as a *minister;* but I thank God there are not in the whole world any who are my enemies as a *man;* for by his grace, through a long life, I have been enabled so to conduct myself, that there does not exist a human being who can justly say, "Ben. Franklin has wronged me." This, my friend, is in old age a comfortable reflection. You too have, or may have, your enemies; but let not that render you unhappy. If you make a right use of them, they will do you more good than harm. They point out to us our faults; they put us upon our guard, and help us to live more correctly.

To Mrs. Sarah Bache, dated Passy, 26 Jan., 1784.

Your care in sending me the newspapers is very agreeable to me. I received by Captain Barney those relating to the *Cincinnati.* My opinion of the institution cannot be of much importance; I only wonder that, when the united wisdom of our nation had, in the articles of confederation, manifested their dislike of establishing ranks of nobility, by authority either of

the Congress or of any particular State, a number of private persons should think proper to distinguish themselves and their posterity, from their fellow citizens, and form an order of *hereditary knights*, in direct opposition to the solemnly declared sense of their country! I imagine it must be likewise contrary to the good sense of most of those drawn into it by the persuasion of its projectors, who have been too much struck with the ribands and crosses they have seen hanging to the buttonholes of foreign officers. And I suppose those, who disapprove of it, have not hitherto given it much opposition, from a principle somewhat like that of your good mother, relating to punctilious persons, who are always exacting little observances of respect; "that, *if people can be pleased with small matters, it is a pity but they should have them.*"

In this view, perhaps, I should not myself, if my advice had been asked, have objected to their wearing their riband and badge themselves according to their fancy, though I certainly should to the entailing it as an honor on their posterity. For honor, worthily obtained (as that for example of our officers), is in its nature a *personal* thing, and incommunicable to any but those who had some share in obtaining it. Thus among the Chinese, the most ancient, and from long experience the wisest of nations, honor does not *descend*, but *ascends*. If a man from his learning, his wisdom, or his valor, is promoted by the Emperor to the rank of Mandarin, his parents are immediately entitled to all the same ceremonies of respect from the people, that are established as due to the Mandarin himself; on the supposition that it must have been owing to the education, instruction, and good example afforded him by his parents, that he was rendered capable of serving the public.

This *ascending* honor is therefore useful to the state, as it encourages parents to give their children a good and virtuous education. But the *descending honor*, to a posterity who could have no share in obtaining it, is not only groundless and absurd, but often hurtful to that posterity, since it is apt to make them proud, disdaining to be employed in useful arts, and thence falling into poverty, and all the meannesses, servility, and wretchedness attending it; which is the present case with much of what is called the *noblesse* in Europe. Or if, to keep up the dignity of the family, estates are entailed entire on the eldest male heir, another pest to industry and improvement of the country is introduced, which will be followed by all the odious mixture of pride, and beggary, and idleness, that have half depopulated and *decultivated* Spain; occasioning continual extinction of families by the discouragements of marriage, and neglect in the improvement of estates.

I wish, therefore, that the Cincinnati, if they must go on with their project, would direct the badges of their order to be worn by their fathers and mothers, instead of handing them down to their children. It would be a good precedent, and might have good effects. It would also be a kind of obedience to the fourth commandment, in which God enjoins us to *honor* our father and mother, but has nowhere directed us to honor our children. And certainly no mode of honoring those immediate authors of our being can be more effectual, than that of doing praiseworthy actions, which reflect honor on those who gave us our education; or more becoming, than that of manifesting, by some public expression or token, that it is to their instruction and example we ascribe the merit of those actions.

But the absurdity of *descending honors* is not a mere

matter of philosophical opinion; it is capable of mathematical demonstration. A man's son, for instance, is but half of his family, the other half belonging to the family of his wife. His son, too, marrying into another family, his share in the grandson is but a fourth; in the great grandson, by the same process, it is but an eighth; in the next generation a sixteenth; the next a thirty-second; the next a sixty-fourth; the next an hundred and twenty-eighth; the next a two hundred and fifty-sixth; and the next a five hundred and twelfth; thus in nine generations, which will not require more than three hundred years (no very great antiquity for a family), our present Chevalier of the Order of Cincinnatus's share in the then existing knight, will be but a five hundred and twelfth part; which, allowing the present certain fidelity of American wives to be insured down through all those nine generations, is so small a consideration, that methinks no reasonable man would hazard for the sake of it the disagreeable consequences of the jealousy, envy, and ill will of his countrymen.

Let us go back with our calculation from this young noble, the five hundred and twelfth part of the present knight, through his nine generations, till we return to the year of the institution. He must have had a father and mother, they are two; each of them had a father and mother, they are four. Those of the next preceding generation will be eight, the next sixteen, the next thirty-two, the next sixty-four, the next one hundred and twenty-eight, the next two hundred and fifty-six, and the ninth in this retrocession five hundred and twelve, who must be now existing, and all contribute their proportion of this future *Chevalier de Cincinnatus*. These, with the rest, make together as follows;

	2
	4
	8
	16
	32
	64
	128
	256
	512
Total	1022

One thousand and twenty-two men and women, contributors to the formation of one knight. And, if we are to have a thousand of these future knights, there must be now and hereafter existing one million and twenty-two thousand fathers and mothers, who are to contribute to their production, unless a part of the number are employed in making more knights than one. Let us strike off then the twenty-two thousand, on the supposition of this double employ, and then consider whether, after a reasonable estimation of the number of rogues, and fools, and scoundrels, and prostitutes, that are mixed with, and help to make up necessarily their million of predecessors, posterity will have much reason to boast of the noble blood of the then existing set of Chevaliers of Cincinnatus. The future genealogists, too, of these Chevaliers, in proving the lineal descent of their honor through so many generations (even supposing honor capable in its nature of descending), will only prove the small share of this honor, which can be justly claimed by any one of them; since the above simple process in arithmetic makes it quite plain and clear, that, in proportion as the antiquity of the family shall augment, the right to the honor

of the ancestor will diminish; and a few generations more would reduce it to something so small as to be very near an absolute nullity. I hope, therefore, that the Order will drop this part of their project, and content themselves, as the Knights of the Garter, Bath, Thistle, St. Louis, and other Orders of Europe do, with a life enjoyment of their little badge and riband, and let the distinction die with those who have merited it. This I imagine will give no offence. For my own part, I shall think it a convenience, when I go into a company where there may be faces unknown to me, if I discover, by this badge, the persons who merit some particular expression of my respect; and it will save modest virtue the trouble of calling for our regard, by awkward roundabout intimations of having been heretofore employed as officers in the Continental service.

The gentleman, who made the voyage to France to provide the ribands and medals, has executed his commission. To me they seem tolerably done; but all such things are criticized. Some find fault with the Latin, as wanting classical elegance and correctness; and, since our nine universities were not able to furnish better Latin, it was pity, they say, that the mottos had not been in English. Others object to the title, as not properly assumable by any but General Washington, and a few others, who served without pay. Others object to the *bald eagle* as looking too much like a *dindon*, or turkey. For my own part, I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk; and, when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing

it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him, and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case; but, like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward; the little *kingbird*, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly and drives him out of the district. He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all the *kingbirds* from our country; though exactly fit for that order of knights, which the French call *Chevaliers d'Industrie*.

I am, on this account, not displeased that the figure is not known as a bald eagle, but looks more like a turkey. For in truth, the turkey is in comparison a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America. Eagles have been found in all countries, but the turkey was peculiar to ours; the first of the species seen in Europe, being brought to France by the Jesuits from Canada, and served up at the wedding table of Charles the Ninth.* He is, besides, (though a little vain and silly, it is true, but not the worse emblem for that,) a bird of courage, and would not hesitate to attack a grenadier of the British guards, who should presume to invade his farmyard with a *red* coat on.

I shall not enter into the criticisms made upon their Latin.

* A learned friend of the Editor's has observed to him, that this is a mistake, as *Turkeys* were found in great plenty by Cortes, when he invaded and conquered Mexico, before the time of Charles the Twelfth. That this, and their being brought to old Spain, is mentioned by Peter Martyr of Anghiera, who was Secretary to the Council of the Indies, established immediately after the discovery of America, *and personally acquainted with Columbus*.—W. T. F.

The gallant officers of America may not have the merit of being great scholars, but they undoubtedly merit much, as brave soldiers, from their country, which should therefore not leave them merely to *fame* for their "*virtutis premium*," which is one of their Latin mottos. Their "*esto perpetua*," another, is an excellent wish, if they meant it for their country; bad, if intended for their Order. The States should not only restore to them the *omnia* of their first motto,* which many of them have left and lost, but pay them justly, and reward them generously. They should not be suffered to remain, with all their new created chivalry, *entirely* in the situation of the gentleman in the story, which their *omnia reliquit* reminds me of. You know every thing makes me recollect some story. He had built a very fine house, and thereby much impaired his fortune. He had a pride, however, in showing it to his acquaintance. One of them, after viewing it all, remarked a motto over the door "ŌĪA VANITAS." "What," says he, "is the meaning of this ŌĪA? it is a word I don't understand." "I will tell you," said the gentleman; "I had a mind to have the motto cut on a piece of smooth marble, but there was not room for it between the ornaments, to be put in characters large enough to be read. I therefore made use of a contraction anciently very common in Latin manuscripts, whereby the *m*'s and *n*'s in words are omitted, and the omission noted by a little dash above, which you may see there; so that the word is *omnia*, OMNIA VANITAS." "O," said his friend, "I now comprehend the meaning of your motto, it relates to your edifice; and signifies, that, if you have

* "Omnia reliquit servare rempublicam."

abridged your *omnia*, you have, nevertheless, left your VANITAS legible at full length."

To William Strahan, dated Passy, 16 Feb. 1784.

Your arguments, persuading me to come once more to England, are very powerful. To be sure, I long to see again my friends there, whom I love abundantly; but there are difficulties and objections of several kinds, which at present I do not see how to get over.

I lament with you the political disorders England at present labors under. Your papers are full of strange accounts of anarchy and confusion in America, of which we know nothing, while your own affairs are really in a deplorable situation. In my humble opinion, the root of the evil lies not so much in too long, or too unequally chosen Parliaments, as in the enormous salaries, emoluments and patronage of your great offices; and that you will never be at rest till they are all abolished, and every place of honor made at the same time, instead of a place of profit, a place of expense and burden.

Ambition and avarice are each of them strong passions, and when they are united in the same persons, and have the same objects in view for their gratification, they are too strong for public spirit and love of country, and are apt to produce the most violent factions and contentions. They should therefore be separated, and made to act one against the other. Those places, to speak in our old style (brother type), may be good for the *chapel*, but they are bad for the master, as they create constant quarrels that hinder the business. For example, here are two months that your government has been employed in *getting its form to press;* which is not yet fit to *work on*, every page of it

being *squabbled,* and the whole ready to fall into *pie.* The founts too must be very scanty, or strangely *out of sorts,* since your *compositors* cannot find either *upper* or *lower case letters* sufficient to set the word ADMINISTRATION, but are forced to be continually *turning for them.* However, to return to common (though perhaps too saucy) language, do not despair; you have still one resource left, and that not a bad one, since it may reunite the empire. We have some remains of affection for you, and shall always be ready to receive and take care of you in case of distress. So if you have not sense and virtue enough to govern yourselves, e'en dissolve your present old crazy constitution, and send members to Congress.

You will say my *advice* "smells of *Madeira.*" You are right. This foolish letter is mere chitchat *between ourselves* over the *second bottle.* If, therefore, you show it to anybody, (except our indulgent friends, Dagge and Lady Strahan) I will positively *solless* you. Yours ever most affectionately.

To Henry Laurens, dated Passy, 12 March, 1784.

I write this in great pain from the gout in both feet; but my young friend, your son, having informed me that he sets out for London to-morrow, I could not let slip the opportunity, as perhaps it is the only safe one that may occur before your departure for America. I wish mine was as near. I think I have reason to complain, that I am so long without an answer from Congress to my request of recall. I wish rather to die in my own country than here; and though the upper part of the building appears yet tolerably firm, yet, being undermined by the stone and gout united, its fall cannot be far distant.

You are so good as to offer me your friendly services.

You cannot do me one more acceptable at present, than that of forwarding my dismission. In all other respects, as well as that, I shall ever look on your friendship as an honor to me; being with sincere and great esteem, dear Sir, &c.

P.S. *March* 13. Having had a tolerable night, I find myself something better this morning. In reading over my letter, I perceive an omission of my thanks for your kind assurances of never forsaking my defence, should there be need. I apprehend that the violent antipathy of a certain person to me may have produced some calumnies, which, what you have seen and heard here may enable you to refute. You will thereby exceedingly oblige one, who has lived beyond all other ambition, than that of dying with the fair character he has long endeavoured to deserve. As to my infallibility, which you do not undertake to maintain, I am too modest myself to claim it, that is, *in general;* though when we come *to particulars*, I, like other people, give it up with difficulty. Steele says, that the difference between the Church of Rome, and the Church of England on that point, is only this; that the one pretends to be *infallible*, and the other to be *never in the wrong*. In this latter sense, we are most of us Church of England men, though few of us confess it, and express it so naturally and frankly, as a certain lady here, who said, "I do not know how it happens, but I meet with nobody, except myself, that is *always* in the right; *Je ne trouve que moi qui a toujours raison.*"*

* Franklin, in one of his conversations with John Adams, wittily distinguished Orthodoxy from Heterodoxy by saying, "Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is your doxy."—ED.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 19 March, 1784.

You will forget me quite, my dear old friend, if I do not write to you now and then.

I still exist, and still enjoy some pleasure in that existence, though now in my seventy-ninth year. Yet I feel the infirmities of age come on so fast, and the building to need so many repairs, that in a little time the owner will find it cheaper to pull it down and build a new one. I wish, however, to see you first, but I begin to doubt the possibility. My children join in love to you and yours, with your affectionate friend.

To M. de la Condamine, dated Passy, 19 March, 1784.

You desire my sentiments concerning the cures performed by Camus and Mesmer. I think, that, in general, maladies caused by obstructions may be treated by electricity with advantage. As to the animal magnetism, so much talked of, I must doubt its existence till I can see or feel some effect of it. None of the cures said to be performed by it have fallen under my observation, and there being so many disorders which cure themselves, and such a disposition in mankind to deceive themselves and one another on these occasions, and living long has given me so frequent opportunities of seeing certain remedies cried up as curing every thing, and yet soon after totally laid aside as useless, I cannot but fear that the expectation of great advantage from this new method of treating diseases will prove a delusion. That delusion may, however, and in some cases, be of use while it lasts. There are in every great, rich city a number of persons, who are never in health, because they are fond of medicines, and always taking them, whereby they derange the natural functions, and hurt their constitution. If these people can be persuaded to forbear their

drugs, in expectation of being cured by only the physician's finger, or an iron rod pointing at them, they may possibly find good effects, though they mistake the cause.*

* Mesmer enjoyed at this time the most lucrative practice of any physician in Paris, and had Lafayette and Puységur among his paying pupils. On the 12th of March, 1784, the King named five eminent members of the medical faculty to investigate his theory and pretensions. At the request of these gentlemen the King added to the Commission five members of the Academy of Sciences, among whom the first named was Franklin. Besides him, Le Roy, Lavoisier, Bailly, and Majault were named. Mesmer declined to appear before the Commissioners, but M. Desson, one of the disciples of Mesmer, volunteered to become the champion of his system of cure. He read a memoir on the subject before the Commission, and undertook—

1. To demonstrate the existence of animal magnetism.
2. To communicate what he knew of it.
3. To make manifest its usefulness in the cure of disease.

Desson made a great variety of experiments, and repeatedly met with the Commissioners for these experiments at Franklin's residence in Passy, the Doctor's health or occupations not allowing him to attend the experiments made elsewhere. On one occasion M. Desson attempted to magnetize the Doctor and his two grandchildren, and some other Americans, who chanced to be at the legation, but without edifying results.

On another occasion the Commission assembled at Passy to see a tree magnetized, and subsequently two female invalids. The results were not such as to sustain M. Desson's theory in the eyes of the Commissioners.

They found that the phenomena they witnessed were mainly the work of the imagination acting usually upon a nervous system morbidly sensitive, and that its influence is rather destructive than remedial. See *Rapport des Commissaires chargés par le Roi de l'Examen du Magnétisme animal, Imprimé par ordre du Roi à Paris*, 1724.

Other authorities state that Jussieu, the eminent naturalist, declined to sign the report, being persuaded that there was something in the phenomena exhibited not to be fully explained by the activity of the imagination. His name does not appear in the official report.

Mesmer's theory was supplemented by the discovery in the following year, 1785, of magnetic somnambulism with insensibility to pain and clairvoyance, by one of his pupils, the Marquis de Puységur. This really great discovery gave an importance to mesmerism which has rescued its author's name, in some measure, from the contempt to which the hostile report of such a board must have consigned it.—ED.

To Benjamin Webb, dated Passy, 22 April, 1784.

I received yours of the 15th instant, and the memorial it enclosed. The account they give of your situation grieves me. I send you herewith a bill for ten louis d'ors. I do not pretend to *give* such a sum; I only *lend* it to you. When you shall return to your country with a good character, you cannot fail of getting into some business, that will in time enable you to pay all your debts. In that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress, you must pay me by lending this sum to him; enjoining him to discharge the debt by a like operation, when he shall be able, and shall meet with such another opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands, before it meets with a knave that will stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a deal of good with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford *much* in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning and make the most of a *little*. With best wishes for the success of your memorial, and your future prosperity, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

To Samuel Mather, dated Passy, 12 May, 1784.

I received your kind letter, with your excellent advice to the people of the United States, which I read with great pleasure, and hope it will be duly regarded. Such writings, though they may be lightly passed over by many readers, yet, if they make a deep impression on one active mind in a hundred, the effects may be considerable. Permit me to mention one little instance, which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy, I met with a book, entitled "*Essays to do Good*," which I think was written by your father.* It had been so little

* Cotton Mather.—ED.

regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good*, than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.

You mention your being in your seventy-eighth year; I am in my seventy-ninth; we are grown old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left Boston, but I remember well both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724, when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library, and on my taking leave showed me a shorter way out of the house through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam over head. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, "*Stoop, stoop!*" I did not understand him, till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man that never missed any occasion of giving instruction, and upon this he said to me, "*You are young, and have the world before you;* STOOP *as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps.*" This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me; and I often think of it, when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

I long much to see again my native place, and to lay my bones there. I left it in 1723; I visited it in 1733, 1743, 1753, and 1763. In 1773 I was in England; in 1775 I had a sight of it, but could not enter, it being in possession of the

enemy. I did hope to have been there in 1783, but could not obtain my dismission from this employment here; and now I fear I shall never have that happiness. My best wishes however attend my dear country. *Esto perpetua.* It is now blest with an excellent constitution; may it last forever!

This powerful monarchy continues its friendship for the United States. It is a friendship of the utmost importance to our security, and should be carefully cultivated. Britain has not yet well digested the loss of its dominion over us, and has still at times some flattering hopes of recovering it. Accidents may increase those hopes, and encourage dangerous attempts. A breach between us and France would infallibly bring the English again upon our backs; and yet we have some wild heads among our countrymen, who are endeavouring to weaken that connexion! Let us preserve our reputation by performing our engagements; our credit by fulfilling our contracts; and friends by gratitude and kindness; for we know not how soon we may have occasion for all of them.

To Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, dated Passy, 13 May, 1784.

Yesterday evening Mr. Hartley met with Mr. Jay and myself, when the ratifications of the definitive treaty were exchanged. I send a copy of the English ratification to the President.

Thus the great and hazardous enterprise we have been engaged in, is, God be praised, happily completed; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of peace, well improved, will restore and increase our strength; but our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages, to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince

the world, that we are a nation to be depended on for fidelity in treaties; if we appear negligent in paying our debts, and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us; our reputation, and all the strength it is capable of procuring, will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted by better prospects of success. Let us therefore beware of being lulled into a dangerous security; and of being both enervated and impoverished by luxury; of being weakened by internal contentions and divisions; of being shamefully extravagant in contracting private debts, while we are backward in discharging honorably those of the public; of neglect in military exercises and discipline, and in providing stores of arms and munitions of war, to be ready on occasion; for all these are circumstances that give confidence to enemies, and diffidence to friends; and the expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it.

I am long kept in suspense without being able to learn the purpose of Congress respecting my request of recall, and that of some employment for my secretary, William Temple Franklin. If I am kept here another winter, and as much weakened by it as by the last, I may as well resolve to spend the remainder of my days here; for I shall hardly be able to bear the fatigues of the voyage in returning. During my long absence from America, my friends are continually diminishing by death, and my inducements to return lessened in proportion. But I can make no preparations either for going conveniently, or staying comfortably here, nor take any steps towards making some other provision for my grandson, till I know what I am to expect. Be so good, my dear friend, as to send me a little private information.

To Mr. and Mrs. Jay, dated Passy, 13 May, 1784.

I find I shall not be able to see you again as I intended. My best wishes, however, go with you, that you may have a prosperous voyage and a happy sight of your friends and families.

Mr. Jay was so kind as to offer his friendly services to me in America. He will oblige me much by endeavouring to forward my discharge from this employment. Repose is now my only ambition. If, too, he should think with me, that my grandson is qualified to serve the States as secretary to a future minister at this court, or as *Chargé d'Affaires*, and will be kind enough to recommend such an appointment, it will exceedingly oblige me. I have twice mentioned this in my letter to Congress, but have not been favored with any answer; which is hard, because the suspense prevents my endeavouring to promote him in some other way. I would not, however, be importunate; and therefore, if Mr. Jay should use his interest without effect, I will trouble them no more on the subject. My grandson's acquaintance with the language, with the court and customs here, and the particular regard M. de Vergennes has for him, are circumstances in his favor.

God bless and protect you both.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 2 June, 1784.

I have considered the observations you did me the honor of communicating to me, concerning certain inaccuracies of expression, and supposed defects of formality, in the instrument of ratification, some of which are said to be of such a nature as to affect the validity of the instrument.*

* The source of these objections was the following note to Mr. Hartley from Lord Carmarthen, dated *St. James, May* 28.—"I received this morn-

The first is, "that the United States are named before his Majesty, contrary to the established custom observed in every treaty in which a crowned head and a republic are the contracting parties." With respect to this, it seems to me we should distinguish between that act in which both join, to wit, the treaty, and that which is the act of each separately, the ratification. It is necessary, that all the modes of expression in the joint act should be agreed to by both parties, though in their separate acts each party is master of, and alone accountable for its own mode. And, on inspecting the treaty, it will be found that his Majesty is always regularly named before the United States. Thus "the established custom *in treaties* between crowned heads and republics," contended for on your part, is strictly observed; and the ratification following the treaty contains these words. "Now know ye, that we, the United States in Congress assembled, having seen and considered the definitive articles aforesaid, have *approved*, *ratified*, and *confirmed*, and by these presents do *approve*, *ratify*, and *confirm* the said articles, AND EVERY PART AND CLAUSE THEREOF," &c. Hereby all those articles, parts, and clauses, wherein the King is named before the United States, are *approved*, *ratified*, and *confirmed*, and this solemnly, under the signa-

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ing the ratification of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America; and I own that it was with the greatest surprise, that I perceived so essential a want of form as appears in the very first paragraph of that instrument, wherein the United States are mentioned before his Majesty, contrary to the established custom observed in every treaty in which a crowned head and a republic are contracting parties. The conclusion likewise appears extremely deficient, as it is neither signed by the President, nor is it dated, and consequently is wanting in some of the most essential points of form necessary towards authenticating the validity of the instrument."—ED.

ture of the President of Congress, with the public seal affixed by their order, and countersigned by their Secretary.

No declaration on this subject more determinate or more authentic can possibly be made or given; which, when considered, may probably induce his Majesty's ministers to wave the proposition of our signing a similar declaration, or of sending back the ratification to be corrected in this point, neither appearing to be really necessary. I will, however, if it be still desired, transmit to Congress the observation, and the difficulty occasioned by it, and request their orders upon it. In the mean time I may venture to say, that I am confident there was no intention of affronting his Majesty by their order of nomination, but that it resulted merely from that sort of complaisance, which every nation seems to have for itself, and of that respect for its own government, customarily so expressed in its own acts, of which the English among the rest afford an instance, when in the title of the King they always name Great Britain before France.

The second objection is, "that the term definitive *articles* is used instead of definitive *treaty*." If the words *definitive treaty* had been used in the ratification instead of *definitive articles*, it might have been more correct, though the difference seems not great nor of much importance, as in the treaty itself it is called "the present *definitive treaty*."

The other objections are, "that the conclusion likewise appears deficient, as it is neither signed by the President, nor is it dated, and consequently is wanting in some of the most essential points of form necessary towards authenticating the validity of the instrument." The situation of seals and signatures, in public instruments, differs in different countries, though all equally valid; for, when all the

parts of an instrument are connected by a ribband, whose ends are secured under the impression of the seal, the signature and seal, wherever placed, are understood as relating to and authenticating the whole. Our usage is, to place them both together in the broad margin near the beginning of the piece; and so they stand in the present ratification, the concluding words of which declare the intention of such signing and sealing to be giving authenticity to the whole instrument, viz. "*In testimony* whereof, We have *caused* the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed; Witness his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esquire, President;" and the date supposed to be omitted, perhaps from its not appearing in figures, is nevertheless to be found written in words at length, viz. "this fourteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four," which made the figures unnecessary.

To the Count de Campomanes,* dated Passy, 5 June, 1784.

I have received much instruction and pleasure in reading your excellent writings. I wish it were in my power to make you a suitable return of the same kind. I embrace the opportunity, my much esteemed friend, Mr. Carmichael, affords me, of sending you a late collection of some of my occasional pieces, of which, if I should live to get home, I hope to publish another edition much larger, more correct, and less unworthy your acceptance.

You are engaged in a great work, reforming the ancient habitudes, removing the prejudices, and promoting the industry of your nation. You have in the Spanish people

* An eminent Spanish statesman and writer, who held the responsible positions of President of the Royal Academy of History, President of the Council of Castile, and Minister of State.—ED.

good stuff to work upon, and by a steady perseverance you will obtain perhaps a success beyond your expectation; for it is incredible the quantity of good that may be done in a country by a single man, who will *make a business* of it, and not suffer himself to be diverted from that purpose by different avocations, studies, or amusements.

There are two opinions prevalent in Europe, which have mischievous effects in diminishing national felicity: the one, that useful labor is dishonorable; the other, that families may be perpetuated with estates. In America we have neither of these prejudices, which is a great advantage to us. You will see our ideas respecting the first, in a little piece I send you, called *Information to those who would remove to America.* The second is mathematically demonstrable to be an impossibility under the present rules of law and religion. Since, though the estate may remain entire, the family is continually dividing. For a man's son is but half of his family, his grandson but a fourth, his great grandson but an eighth, the next but a sixteenth of his family; and, by the same progression, in only nine generations the present proprietor's part in the then possessor of the estate will be but a five hundred and twelfth, supposing the fidelity of all the succeeding wives equally certain with that of those now existing; too small a portion, methinks, to be anxious about, so as to oppose a legal liberty of breaking entails and dividing estates, which would contribute so much to the prosperity of the country.

CHAPTER VIII.

Red Tape—Folly of Duelling—Ordination denied to American Clergymen by the English Church—The Uses and Abuses of Luxury—Overtures from his Son—Present from King George—The Foolish Generals and the Jolly Printers—England's Error in opposing Emigration—The Old Testament in the New Constitution—Mirabeau—England prosecuting the War through the Press—Replaced by Thomas Jefferson—Takes Leave of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

1784–1785.

To Thomas Percival, dated Passy, 17 July, 1784.

IT is astonishing that the murderous practice of duelling, which you so justly condemn,* should continue so long in vogue. Formerly, when duels were used to determine lawsuits, from an opinion that Providence would in every instance favor truth and right with victory, they were excusable. At present, they decide nothing. A man says something, which another tells him is a lie. They fight; but, whichever is killed, the point at dispute remains unsettled. To this purpose they have a pleasant little story here. A gentleman in a coffee-house desired another to sit further from him. "Why so?" "Because, Sir, you stink." "That is an affront, and you must fight me." "I will fight you, if you insist upon it;

* In his Moral and Literary Dissertations, of which he had just presented a copy to Dr. Franklin.—ED.

but I do not see how that will mend the matter. For if you kill me, I shall stink too; and if I kill you, you will stink, if possible, worse than you do at present." How can such miserable sinners as we are entertain so much pride, as to conceit that every offence against our imagined honor merits *death?* These petty princes in their own opinion would call that sovereign a tyrant, who should put one of them to death for a little uncivil language, though pointed at his sacred person; yet every one of them makes himself judge in his own cause, condemns the offender without a jury, and undertakes himself to be the executioner.

P.S. Our friend, Mr. Vaughan, may perhaps communicate to you some conjectures of mine relating to the cold of last winter, which I sent to him in return for the observations on cold of Professor Wilson. If he should, and you think them worthy so much notice, you may show them to your Philosophical Society,* to which I wish all imaginable success. Their rules appear to me excellent.

To Messrs. Weems and Gant, Citizens of the United States in London, dated Passy, 18 July, 1784.

On receipt of your letter, acquainting me that the Archbishop of Canterbury would not permit you to be ordained, unless you took the oath of allegiance, I applied to a clergyman of my acquaintance for information on the subject of your obtaining ordination here. His opinion was, that it could not be done; and that, if it were done, you would be required to vow obedience to the Archbishop of Paris. I next inquired of the Pope's Nuncio,

* The *Philosophical Society of Manchester*, of which Dr. Percival was one of the principal founders and ornaments.—W. T. F.

whether you might not be ordained by their Bishop in America, powers being sent him for that purpose, if he has them not already. The answer was, "The thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Catholics."

This is an affair of which I know very little, and therefore I may ask questions and propose means that are improper or impracticable. But what is the necessity of your being connected with the Church of England? Would it not be as well, if you were of the Church of Ireland? The religion is the same, though there is a different set of bishops and archbishops. Perhaps if you were to apply to the Bishop of Derry, who is a man of liberal sentiments, he might give you orders as of that Church. If both Britain and Ireland refuse you, (and I am not sure that the Bishops of Denmark or Sweden would ordain you, unless you become Lutherans,) what is then to be done? Next to becoming Presbyterians, the Episcopalian clergy of America, in my humble opinion, cannot do better than to follow the example of the first clergy of Scotland, soon after the conversion of that country to Christianity. When the King had built the Cathedral of St. Andrew's, and requested the King of Northumberland to lend his bishops to ordain one for them, that their clergy might not as heretofore be obliged to go to Northumberland for orders, and their request was refused; they assembled in the Cathedral, and, the mitre, crosier, and robes of a bishop being laid upon the altar, they, after earnest prayers for direction in their choice, elected one of their own number; when the King said to him, "*Arise, go to the altar, and receive your office at the hand of God.*" His brethren led him to the altar, robed him, put the crosier in his hand, and the mitre on his head, and he became the first Bishop of Scotland.

If the British Islands were sunk in the sea (and the surface of this globe has suffered greater changes), you would probably take some such method as this; and, if they persist in denying your ordination, it is the same thing. A hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at, that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbours, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury; who seems, by your account, to have as little regard for the souls of the people of Maryland, as King William's Attorney-General, Seymour, had for those of Virginia. The Reverend Commissary Blair, who projected the College of that Province, and was in England to solicit benefactions and a charter, relates, that, the Queen, in the King's absence, having ordered Seymour to draw up the charter, which was to be given, with two thousand pounds in money, he opposed the grant; saying that the nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes, and he did not see the least occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair represented to him, that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the Gospel, much wanted there; and begged Mr. Attorney would consider, that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved, as well as the people of England. "*Souls!*" said he, "*damn your souls. Make tobacco.*"

To Benjamin Vaughan, dated Passy, 26 July, 1784.

I have received Cook's *Voyages*, which you put Mr. Oswald in the way of sending to me. By some mistake the first volume was omitted, and instead of it a duplicate sent of the third. If there is

a good print of Cook, I should be glad to have it, being personally acquainted with him. I thank you for the pamphlets by Mr. Estlin. Every thing you send me gives me pleasure; to receive your account would give me more than all.

I am told that the little pamphlet of *Advice to such as would remove to America,** is reprinted in London, with my name to it, which I would rather had been omitted; but wish to see a copy, when you have an opportunity of sending it.

Dr. Price's pamphlet of advice to America is a good one, and will do good. You ask, "what remedy I have for the growing luxury of my country, which gives so much *offence* to all *English travellers* without exception." I answer, that I think it exaggerated, and that travellers are no good judges whether our luxury is growing or diminishing. Our people are hospitable, and have indeed too much pride in displaying upon their tables before strangers the plenty and variety that our country affords. They have the vanity, too, of sometimes borrowing one another's plate to entertain more splendidly. Strangers being invited from house to house, and meeting every day with a feast, imagine what they see is the ordinary way of living of all the families where they dine; when perhaps each family lives a week afterwards upon the remains of the dinner given. It is, I own, a folly in our people to give *such offence* to *English travellers*. The first part of the proverb is thereby verified, that *fools make feasts*. I wish in this case the other were as true, *and wise men eat them*. These travellers might, one would think, find some fault they could more decently

* See Sparks's Works of Franklin, Vol. ii. p. 466.—Ed.

reproach us with, than that of our excessive civility to them as strangers.

By the by, here is just issued an *arrêt* of Council taking off all the duties upon the exportation of brandies, which, it is said, will render them cheaper in America than your rum; in which case there is no doubt but they will be preferred, and we shall be better able to bear your restrictions on our commerce. There are views here, by augmenting their settlements, of being able to supply the growing people of America with the sugar that may be wanted there. On the whole, I believe England will get as little by the commercial war she has begun with us, as she did by the military.

It is wonderful how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed. Naturally one would imagine, that the interest of a few individuals should give way to general interest; but individuals manage their affairs with so much more application, industry, and address, than the public do theirs, that general interest most commonly gives way to particular. We assemble parliaments and councils, to have the benefit of their collected wisdom; but we necessarily have, at the same time, the inconvenience of their collected passions, prejudices, and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors; and if we may judge by the acts, *arrêts*, and edicts, all the world over, for regulating commerce, an assembly of great men is the greatest fool upon earth.

I have not yet, indeed, thought of a remedy for luxury. I am not sure, that in a great state it is capable of a remedy, nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is repre-

sented. Suppose we include in the definition of luxury all unnecessary expense, and then let us consider whether laws to prevent such expense are possible to be executed in a great country, and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, or even richer. Is not the hope of being one day able to purchase and enjoy luxuries a great spur to labor and industry? May not luxury, therefore, produce more than it consumes, if without such a spur people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape May and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused to be paid. My wife, understanding that he had a daughter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap. Three years after, this skipper being at my house with an old farmer of Cape May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it. "But," said he, "it proved a dear cap to our congregation." "How so?" "When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed, that the whole could not have cost less than a hundred pounds." "True," said the farmer, "but you do not tell all the story. I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us, for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there; and you know that that industry has continued, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answer better purposes." Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made

happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the supply of warm mittens.

In our commercial towns upon the seacoast, fortunes will occasionally be made. Some of those who grow rich will be prudent, live within bounds, and preserve what they have gained for their posterity; others, fond of showing their wealth, will be extravagant and ruin themselves. Laws cannot prevent this; and perhaps it is not always an evil to the public. A shilling spent idly by a fool, may be picked up by a wiser person, who knows better what to do with it. It is therefore not lost. A vain, silly fellow builds a fine house, furnishes it richly, lives in it expensively, and in a few years ruins himself; but the masons, carpenters, smiths, and other honest tradesmen have been by his employ assisted in maintaining and raising their families; the farmer has been paid for his labor, and encouraged, and the estate is now in better hands. In some cases, indeed, certain modes of luxury may be a public evil, in the same manner as it is a private one. If there be a nation, for instance, that exports its beef and linen, to pay for the importation of claret and porter, while a great part of its people live upon potatoes, and wear no shirts, wherein does it differ from the sot, who lets his family starve, and sells his clothes to buy drink? Our American commerce is, I confess, a little in this way. We sell our victuals to the Islands for rum and sugar; the substantial necessaries of life for superfluities. But we have plenty, and live well nevertheless, though, by being soberer, we might be richer.

The vast quantity of forest land we have yet to clear, and put in order for cultivation, will for a long time keep the body of our nation laborious and frugal. Forming an opinion of our people and their manners by what is seen

among the inhabitants of the seaports, is judging from an improper sample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country possesses all the virtues, that tend to promote happiness and public prosperity. Those towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly considered as an essential part of the States; and the experience of the last war has shown, that their being in the possession of the enemy did not necessarily draw on the subjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence notwithstanding.

It has been computed by some political arithmetician, that, if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, that labor would produce sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life, want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure.

What occasions then so much want and misery? It is the employment of men and women in works, that produce neither the necessaries nor conveniences of life, who, with those who do nothing, consume necessaries raised by the laborious. To explain this.

The first elements of wealth are obtained by labor, from the earth and waters. I have land, and raise corn. With this, if I feed a family that does nothing, my corn will be consumed, and at the end of the year I shall be no richer than I was at the beginning. But if, while I feed them, I employ them, some in spinning, others in making bricks, &c. for building, the value of my corn will be arrested and remain with me, and at the end of the year we may all be better clothed and better lodged. And if, instead of employing a man I feed in making bricks, I employ him in

fiddling for me, the corn he eats is gone, and no part of his manufacture remains to augment the wealth and convenience of the family; I shall therefore be the poorer for this fiddling man, unless the rest of my family work more, or eat less, to make up the deficiency he occasions.

Look round the world and see the millions employed in doing nothing, or in something that amounts to nothing, when the necessaries and conveniences of life are in question. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and destroy each other, but the toil of millions for superfluities, to the great hazard and loss of many lives by the constant dangers of the sea? How much labor is spent in building and fitting great ships, to go to China and Arabia for tea and coffee, to the West Indies for sugar, to America for tobacco? These things cannot be called the necessaries of life, for our ancestors lived very comfortably without them.

A question may be asked; Could all these people, now employed in raising, making, or carrying superfluities, be subsisted by raising necessaries? I think they might. The world is large, and a great part of it still uncultivated. Many hundred millions of acres in Asia, Africa, and America are still in forest, and a great deal even in Europe. On a hundred acres of this forest a man might become a substantial farmer, and a hundred thousand men, employed in clearing each his hundred acres, would hardly brighten a spot big enough to be visible from the moon, unless with Herschel's telescope; so vast are the regions still in wood.

It is, however, some comfort to reflect, that, upon the whole, the quantity of industry and prudence among mankind exceeds the quantity of idleness and folly. Hence

the increase of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities filled with wealth, all over Europe, which a few ages since were only to be found on the coast of the Mediterranean; and this, notwithstanding the mad wars continually raging, by which are often destroyed in one year the works of many years' peace. So that we may hope the luxury of a few merchants on the coast will not be the ruin of America.

One reflection more, and I will end this long, rambling letter. Almost all the parts of our bodies require some expense. The feet demand shoes; the legs, stockings; the rest of the body, clothing; and the belly, a good deal of victuals. Our eyes, though exceedingly useful, ask, when reasonable, only the cheap assistance of spectacles, which could not much impair our finances. But the eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myself were blind, I should want neither fine clothes, fine houses, nor fine furniture.

To William Franklin, dated Passy, 16 August, 1784.

I received your letter of the 22d ultimo, and am glad to find that you desire to revive the affectionate intercourse, that formerly existed between us. It will be very agreeable to me; indeed, nothing has ever hurt me so much, and affected me with such keen sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age by my only son; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms against me in a cause, wherein my good fame, fortune, and life were all at stake. You conceived, you say, that your duty to your King and regard for your country required this. I ought not to blame you for differing in sentiment with me in public affairs. We are men, all subject to errors. Our opinions are not in our

own power; they are formed and governed much by circumstances, that are often as inexplicable as they are irresistible. Your situation was such that few would have censured your remaining neuter, though there are natural duties which precede political ones, and cannot be extinguished by them.

This is a disagreeable subject. I drop it; and we will endeavour, as you propose, mutually to forget what has happened relating to it, as well as we can. I send your son over to pay his duty to you. You will find him much improved. He is greatly esteemed and beloved in this country, and will make his way anywhere. It is my desire, that he should study the law, as the necessary part of knowledge for a public man, and profitable if he should have occasion to practise it. I would have you therefore put into his hands those law-books you have, viz. Blackstone, Coke, Bacon, Viner, &c. He will inform you, that he received the letter sent him by Mr. Galloway, and the paper it enclosed, safe.

On my leaving America, I deposited with that friend for you, a chest of papers, among which was a manuscript of nine or ten volumes, relating to manufactures, commerce, and finance, which cost me in England about seventy guineas; and eight quire books, containing the rough drafts of all my letters while I lived in London. These are missing; I hope you have got them; if not, they are lost. Mr. Vaughan has published in London a volume of what he calls my political works. He proposes a second edition; but, as the first was very incomplete, and you had many things that were omitted, (for I used to send you sometimes the rough drafts, and sometimes the printed pieces I wrote in London;) I have directed him to apply to

you for what may be in your power to furnish him with, or to delay his publication till I can be at home again, if that may ever happen.

I did intend returning this year; but the Congress, instead of giving me leave to do so, have sent me another commission, which will keep me here at least a year longer; and perhaps I may then be too old and feeble to bear the voyage. I am here among a people that love and respect me, a most amiable nation to live with; and perhaps I may conclude to die among them; for my friends in America are dying off, one after another, and I have been so long abroad, that I should now be almost a stranger in my own country.

I shall be glad to see you when convenient, but would not have you come here at present. You may confide to your son the family affairs you wished to confer upon with me, for he is discreet; and I trust, that you will prudently avoid introducing him to company, that it may be improper for him to be seen with. I shall hear from you by him; and letters to me afterwards will come safe under cover directed to Mr. Ferdinand Grand, banker, at Paris. Wishing you health, and more happiness than it seems you have lately experienced, I remain your affectionate father.

To Lord Howe, dated Passy, 18 August, 1784.

I received lately the very valuable *Voyage* of the late Captain Cook, kindly sent to me by your Lordship in consideration of my good-will in issuing orders towards the protection of that illustrious discoverer from any interruption in his return home by American cruisers. The reward vastly exceeds the small merit of the action, which was no more than a duty to mankind. I am very sensible of his Majesty's

goodness in permitting this favor to me, and I desire that my thankful acknowledgments may be accepted.*

To William Strahan, dated Passy, 19 August, 1784.

I received your kind letter of April 17th. You will have the goodness to place my delay in answering to the account of indisposition and business, and excuse it. I have now that letter before me; and my grandson, whom you may formerly remember a little scholar at Mr. Elphinston's, purposing to set out in a day or two on a visit to his father in London, I sit down to scribble a little to you, first recommending him as a worthy young man to your civilities and counsels.

You press me much to come to England. I am not without strong inducements to do so; the fund of knowledge you promise to communicate to me is an addition to them, and no small one. At present it is impracticable. But, when my grandson returns, come with him. We will talk the matter over, and perhaps you may take me back with you. I have a bed at your service, and will try to make your residence, while you can stay with us, as agreeable to you, if possible, as I am sure it will be to me.

You do not "approve the annihilation of profitable places; for you do not see why a statesman, who does his business well, should not be paid for his labor as well as any other workman." Agreed. But why more than any other workman? The less the salary the greater the honor. In so great a nation, there are many rich enough to afford

* A gold medal was struck by order of the Royal Society, with particular reference to the protection afforded to Captain Cook's vessels by the Emperor of Russia and the King of France. The Society bestowed upon Dr. Franklin a compliment similar to the King's, by presenting to him one of these medals.—S.

giving their time to the public; and there are, I make no doubt, many wise and able men, who would take as much pleasure in governing for nothing, as they do in playing chess for nothing. It would be one of the noblest amusements. That this opinion is not chimerical, the country I now live in affords a proof; its whole civil and criminal law administration being done for nothing, or in some sense for less than nothing; since the members of its judiciary parliaments buy their places, and do not make more than *three per cent* for their money by their fees and emoluments, while the legal interest is *five;* so that in fact they give two per cent to be allowed to govern, and all their time and trouble into the bargain. Thus *profit*, one motive for desiring place, being abolished, there remains only *ambition;* and that being in some degree balanced by *loss*, you may easily conceive, that there will not be very violent factions and contentions for such places, nor much of the mischief to the country, that attends your factions, which have often occasioned wars, and overloaded you with debts impayable.

I allow you all the force of your joke upon the vagrancy of our Congress. They have a right to sit *where* they please, of which perhaps they have made too much use by shifting too often. But they have two other rights; those of sitting *when* they please, and as *long* as they please, in which methinks they have the advantage of your Parliament; for they cannot be dissolved by the breath of a minister, or sent packing as you were the other day, when it was your earnest desire to have remained longer together.

You "fairly acknowledge, that the late war terminated quite contrary to your expectation." Your expectation was ill founded; for you would not believe your old friend, who told you repeatedly, that by those measures England

would lose her colonies, as Epictetus warned in vain his master that he would break his leg. You believed rather the tales you heard of our poltroonery and impotence of body and mind. Do you not remember the story you told me of the Scotch sergeant, who met with a party of forty American soldiers, and, though alone, disarmed them all, and brought them in prisoners? A story almost as improbable as that of the Irishman, who pretended to have alone taken and brought in five of the enemy by *surrounding* them. And yet, my friend, sensible and judicious as you are, but partaking of the general infatuation, you seemed to believe it.

The word *general* puts me in mind of a general, your General Clarke, who had the folly to say in my hearing at Sir John Pringle's, that, with a thousand British grenadiers, he would undertake to go from one end of America to the other, and geld all the males, partly by force and partly by a little coaxing. It is plain he took us for a species of animals very little superior to brutes. The Parliament too believed the stories of another foolish general, I forget his name, that the Yankeys never *felt bold.* Yankey was understood to be a sort of Yahoo, and the Parliament did not think the petitions of such creatures were fit to be received and read in so wise an assembly. What was the consequence of this monstrous pride and insolence? You first sent small armies to subdue us, believing them more than sufficient, but soon found yourselves obliged to send greater; these, whenever they ventured to penetrate our country beyond the protection of their ships, were either repulsed and obliged to scamper out, or were surrounded, beaten, and taken prisoners. An American planter, who had never seen Europe, was chosen by us to command our

troops, and continued during the whole war. This man sent home to you, one after another, five of your best generals baffled, their heads bare of laurels, disgraced even in the opinion of their employers.

Your contempt of our understandings, in comparison with your own, appeared to be not much better founded than that of our courage, if we may judge by this circumstance, that, in whatever court of Europe a Yankey negotiator appeared, the wise British minister was routed, put in a passion, picked a quarrel with your friends, and was sent home with a flea in his ear.

But after all, my dear friend, do not imagine that I am vain enough to ascribe our success to any superiority in any of those points. I am too well acquainted with all the springs and levers of our machine, not to see, that our human means were unequal to our undertaking, and that if it had not been for the justice of our cause, and the consequent interposition of Providence, in which we had faith, we must have been ruined. If I had ever before been an atheist, I should now have been convinced of the being and government of a Deity! It is he who abases the proud and favors the humble. May we never forget his goodness to us, and may our future conduct manifest our gratitude.

But let us leave these serious reflections and converse with our usual pleasantry. I remember your observing once to me as we sat together in the House of Commons, that no two journeymen printers, within your knowledge, had met with such success in the world as ourselves. You were then at the head of your profession, and soon afterwards became a member of Parliament. I was an agent for a few provinces, and now act for them all. But we have risen

by different modes. I, as a republican printer, always liked a form well *planed down;* being averse to those *overbearing* letters that hold their heads so *high*, as to hinder their neighbours from appearing. You, as a monarchist, chose to work upon *crown* paper, and found it profitable; while I worked upon *pro patria* (often indeed called *foolscap*) with no less advantage. Both our *heaps hold out* very well, and we seem likely to make a pretty good day's work of it. With regard to public affairs (to continue in the same style), it seems to me that the compositors in your chapel do not *cast off their copy* well, nor perfectly understand *imposing;* their *forms*, too, are continually pestered by the *outs* and *doubles*, that are not easy to be corrected. And I think they were wrong in laying aside some *faces*, and particularly certain *head-pieces*, that would have been both useful and ornamental. But, courage! The business may still flourish with good management; and the master become as rich as any of the company.

By the way, the rapid growth and extension of the English language in America, must become greatly advantageous to the booksellers, and holders of copyrights in England. A vast audience is assembling there for English authors, ancient, present, and future, our people doubling every twenty years; and this will demand large and of course profitable impressions of your most valuable books. I would, therefore, if I possessed such rights, entail them, if such a thing be practicable, upon my posterity; for their worth will be continually augmenting. This may look a little like advice, and yet I have drunk no *madeira* these six months.

The subject, however, leads me to another thought, which is, that you do wrong to discourage the emigration of

Englishmen to America. In my piece on population, I have proved, I think, that emigration does not diminish but multiplies a nation. You will not have fewer at home for those that go abroad; and as every man who comes among us, and takes up a piece of land, becomes a citizen, and by our constitution has a voice in elections, and a share in the government of the country, why should you be against acquiring by this fair means a repossession of it, and leave it to be taken by foreigners of all nations and languages, who by their numbers may drown and stifle the English, which otherwise would probably become in the course of two centuries the most extensive language in the world, the Spanish only excepted? It is a fact, that the Irish emigrants and their children are now in possession of the government of Pennsylvania, by their majority in the Assembly, as well as of a great part of the territory; and I remember well the first ship that brought any of them over.

To George Whatley, dated Passy, 21 August, 1784.

Your excellent little work, "The Principles of Trade," is too little known.* I wish you would send me a copy of it by the return of my grandson and secretary, whom I beg leave to recommend to your civilities. I would get it translated and printed here. And if your bookseller has any quantity of them left, I should be glad he would send them to America. The ideas of our people there, though rather better than those that prevail in Europe, are not so good as they should be; and that piece might be of service among them.

I am sorry your favorite charity† does not go on as you

* Originally published in 1774, and written jointly by Whatley and Franklin.—ED.

† The Foundling Hospital, of which Mr. Whatley was the Treasurer.—ED.

could wish it. It is shrunk indeed by your admitting only sixty children a year. What you have told your brethren respecting America is true. If you find it difficult to dispose of your children in England, it looks as if you had too many people. And yet you are afraid of emigration. A subscription is lately set on foot here to encourage and assist mothers in nursing their infants themselves at home; the practice of sending them to the *Enfants trouvés* having risen here to a monstrous excess, as, by the annual bill, it appears they amount to near one third of the children born in Paris! The subscription is likely to succeed, and may do a great deal of good, though it cannot answer all the purposes of a foundling hospital.

Your eyes must continue very good, since you can write so small a hand without spectacles. I cannot distinguish a letter even of large print; but am happy in the invention of double spectacles, which, serving for distant objects as well as near ones, make my eyes as useful to me as ever they were. If all the other defects and infirmities were as easily and cheaply remedied, it would be worth while for friends to live a good deal longer, but I look upon death to be as necessary to our constitution as sleep. We shall rise refreshed in the morning.

To a Friend in England, dated Passy, 21 Aug., 1784.

I was glad to hear that you possessed a comfortable retirement, and more so that you had thoughts of removing to Philadelphia, for that it would make me very happy to have you there. Your *companions* would be very acceptable to the Library, but I hoped you would long live to enjoy their company yourself. I agreed with you in sentiments concerning the Old Testament, and thought the clause in our constitution, which

required the members of Assembly to declare their belief, *that the whole of it was given by divine inspiration*, had better have been omitted. That I had opposed the clause; but, being overpowered by numbers, and fearing more might in future times be grafted on it, I prevailed to have the additional clause, "that *no further or more extended profession of faith should ever be exacted.*" I observed to you too, that the evil of it was the less, as *no inhabitant*, nor any officer of government, except the members of Assembly, was obliged to make the declaration.

So much for that letter; to which I may now add, that there are several things in the Old Testament, impossible to be given by *divine* inspiration; such as the approbation ascribed to the angel of the Lord, of that abominably wicked and detestable action of Jael, the wife of Heber, the Kenite.* If the rest of the book were like that, I should rather suppose it given by inspiration from another quarter, and renounce the whole.

To Benjamin Vaughan, dated Passy, 7 Sept., 1784.

This will be delivered to you by Count Mirabeau; son of the Marquis of that name, author of "L'Ami des Hommes." This gentleman is esteemed here, and I recommend him to your civilities and counsels, particularly with respect to the printing of a piece he has written on the subject of *hereditary nobility*, on occasion of the order of Cincinnati lately attempted to be established in America, which cannot be printed here. I find that some of the best judges think it extremely well written, with great clearness, force, and elegance. If you can recommend him to an honest, reasonable bookseller,

* Judges, chap. iv.—ED.

that will undertake it, you will do him service, and perhaps some to mankind, who are too much bigoted in many countries to that kind of imposition.

I had formerly almost resolved to trouble you with no more letters of recommendation; but I think you will find this gentleman to possess talents, that may render his acquaintance agreeable.

To John Jay, dated Passy, 8 Feb., 1785.

I did hope to have heard by the last packet of your having accepted the secretaryship of foreign affairs, but was disappointed. I write to you now, therefore, only as a private friend; yet I may mention respecting public affairs, that, as far as I can perceive, the good disposition of this court towards us continues. I wish I could say as much for the rest of the European courts. I think that their desire of being connected with us by treaties is of late much abated; and this I suppose is occasioned by the pains Britain takes to represent us everywhere as distracted with divisions, discontented with our governments, the people unwilling to pay taxes, the Congress unable to collect them, and many desiring the restoration of the old government. The English papers are full of this stuff, and their ministers get it copied into the foreign papers. The moving about of the Congress from place to place has also a bad effect, in giving color to the reports of their being afraid of the people. I hope they will soon settle somewhere, and, by the steadiness and wisdom of their measures, dissipate all those mists of misrepresentation raised by the remaining malice of ancient enemies, and establish our reputation for national justice and prudence as they have done for courage and perseverance.

It grieves me that we have not been able to discharge our first year's payment of interest to this court, due the beginning of last month. I hope it will be the only failure, and that effectual measures will be taken to be exactly punctual hereafter. *The good paymaster*, says the proverb, *is lord of another man's purse.* The bad one, if he ever has again occasion to borrow, must pay dearly for his carelessness and injustice.

You are happy in having got back safe to your country. I should be less unhappy, if I could imagine the delay of my *congé* useful to the States, or in the least degree necessary. But they have many equally capable of doing all I have to do here. The new proposed treaties are the most important things; but two can go through them as well as three, if indeed any are likely to be completed, which I begin to doubt, since the new ones make little progress, and the old ones, which wanted only the *fiat* of Congress, seem now to be going rather backward; I mean those I had projected with Denmark and Portugal.

My grandsons are sensible of the honor of your remembrance, and present their respects to you and Mrs. Jay. I add my best wishes of health and happiness to you all.

To Richard Price, dated Passy, 18 March, 1785.

My nephew, Mr. Williams, will have the honor of delivering you this line. It is to request from you a list of a few good books, to the value of about twenty-five pounds, such as are most proper to inculcate principles of sound religion and just government. A new town in the State of Massachusetts having done me the honor of naming itself after me,* and

* If Franklin had lived till this time and treated in like manner all the towns and counties in the United States that paid him the compliment of

proposing to build a steeple to their meeting-house if I would give them a bell, I have advised the sparing themselves the expense of a steeple, for the present, and that they would accept of books instead of a bell, sense being preferable to sound. These are therefore intended as the commencement of a little parochial library for the use of a society of intelligent, respectable farmers, such as our country people generally consist of. Besides your own works, I would only mention, on the recommendation of my sister, "Stennett's Discourse on Personal Religion," which may be one book of the number, if you know and approve it.

To Benjamin Vaughan, dated Passy, 21 April, 1785.

We see much in parliamentary proceedings, and in papers and pamphlets, of the injury the concessions to Ireland will do to the *manufacturers* of England, while the *people* of England seem to be forgotten, as if quite out of the question. If the Irish can manufacture cottons, and stuffs, and silks, and linens, and cutlery, and toys, and books, &c. &c. &c., so as to sell them cheaper in England than the *manufacturers* of England sell them, is not this good for the *people* of England,

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taking his name, he would have found it somewhat expensive. There is no State in the Union without its town of Franklin. Ohio has nineteen, and twenty States have each a Franklin County. It is stated by Mr. Parton that the name occurs on the map of the United States one hundred and thirty-six times. These attentions, if all were acknowledged in the same way, would have cost him the snug little sum of seventeen thousand dollars. It is a little singular that the three men who have given their names to more of the territory of the United States than any other should never have given it to a single State. We have several States named after sovereigns and other members of the former royal families of England and France, but not one that bears the name of an American. The Territory of Washington is the nearest approach yet made to it.—ED.

who are not manufacturers? And will not even the manufacturers themselves share the benefit? Since if cottons are cheaper, all the other manufacturers who wear cottons will save in that article; and so of the rest. If books can be had much cheaper from Ireland, (which I believe, for I bought Blackstone there for twenty-four shillings, when it was sold in England at four guineas,) is not this an advantage, not to English booksellers, indeed, but to English readers, and to learning? And of all the complainants, perhaps these booksellers are least worthy of consideration. The catalogue you last sent me amazes me by the high prices (said to be the lowest) affixed to each article. And one can scarce see a new book, without observing the excessive artifices made use of to puff up a paper of verses into a pamphlet, a pamphlet into an octavo, and an octavo into a quarto, with scab-boardings, white-lines, sparse titles of chapters, and exorbitant margins, to such a degree, that the selling of paper seems now the object, and printing on it only the pretence. I enclose the copy of a page in a late comedy. Between every two lines there is a white space equal to another line. You have a law, I think, against butchers' blowing of veal to make it look fatter; why not one against booksellers' blowing of books to make them look bigger? All this *to yourself;* you can easily guess the reason.

My grandson is a little indisposed, but sends you two pamphlets, "Figaro," and "Le Roy Voyageur." The first is a play of Beaumarchais, which has had a great run here. The other a representation of all the supposed errors of government in this country, some of which are probably exaggerated. It is not publicly sold; we shall send some more shortly.

Enclosed in the foregoing Letter:

"SCENE IV.

Sir JOHN and WILDMORE.

Sir JOHN.

Whither so fast?

WILDMORE.

To the Opera.

Sir JOHN.

It is not the ——?

WILDMORE.

Yes it is.

Sir JOHN.

Never on a Sunday?

WILDMORE.

Is this Sunday?

Sir JOHN.

Yes sure.

WILDMORE.

I remember nothing; I shall soon forget my Christian name."

If this page was printed running on like Erasmus's Colloquies, it would not have made more than five lines.

To John Ingenhousz, dated Passy, 29 April, 1795.

I thank you much for the postscript respecting my disorder, the stone. I have taken heretofore, and am now again taking the remedy you mention, which is called *Blackrie's Solvent.* It is the soap lie, with lime-water, and I believe it may have some effect in diminishing the symptoms, and preventing the growth of the stone, which is all I expect from it. It does not hurt my appetite; I sleep well, and enjoy my friends in cheerful conversation as usual. But, as I cannot use much exercise, I eat more sparingly than formerly, and I drink no wine.

I admire, that you should be so timid in asking leave of your good imperial master to make a journey for visiting a friend. I am persuaded you would succeed, and I hope the proposition I have repeated to you in this letter will assist your courage, and enable you to ask and obtain. If you come hither soon, you may, when present, get your book finished, and be ready to proceed with me to America. While writing this, I have received from Congress my leave to return; and I believe I shall be ready to embark by the middle of July, at farthest. I shall now be free from politics for the rest of my life. Welcome again, my dear philosophical amusements!

To Count de Vergennes, dated Passy, 3 May, 1785.

I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency, that I have at length obtained, and yesterday received, the permission of Congress to return to America. As my malady makes it impracticable for me to pay my devoirs at Versailles personally, may I beg the favor of you, Sir, to express respectfully for me to his Majesty, the deep sense I have of all the inestimable benefits his goodness has conferred on my country; a senti-

ment that it will be the business of the little remainder of life now left me, to impress equally on the minds of all my countrymen. My sincere prayers are, that God may shower down his blessings on the King, the Queen, their children, and all the royal family to the latest generations!

Permit me, at the same time, to offer you my thankful acknowledgments for the protection and countenance you afforded me at my arrival, and your many favors during my residence here, of which I shall always retain the most grateful remembrance. My grandson would have had the honor of waiting on you with this letter, but he has been some time ill of a fever.

With the greatest esteem and respect, and best wishes for the constant prosperity of yourself, and all your amiable family.*

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* To this note Franklin received the following reply:

Translation.

"Versailles, 22 May, 1785.

"SIR,

"I have learned with much concern of your retiring and of your approaching departure for America. You cannot doubt but that the regrets which you will leave will be proportionate to the consideration you so justly enjoy.

"I can assure you, Sir, that the esteem the King entertains for you does not leave you any thing to desire, and that his Majesty will learn with real satisfaction that your fellow citizens have rewarded, in a manner worthy of you, the important services that you have rendered.

"I beg, Sir, that you will preserve for me a share in your remembrance, and never doubt the sincerity of the interest I take in your happiness. It is founded on the sentiments of attachment, of which I have assured you, and with which I have the honor to be, &c.

"DE VERGENNES."

It was more than a year after the peace, and on the 7th of March, 1785, that Congress finally yielded to the Doctor's repeated requests to be recalled. On the 10th of the same month Thomas Jefferson, who had arrived in France in the preceding August, under a commission to assist Franklin and

Adams in negotiating commercial treaties with the various European powers, was appointed the Doctor's successor as minister plenipotentiary to the court of France.

"There appeared to me," said Mr. Jefferson,* "more respect and veneration attached to the character of Franklin in France, than to that of any other person in the same country, foreign or native. I had frequent opportunities of knowing particularly how far these sentiments were felt by the foreign ambassadors and ministers at the court of Versailles.

* * * "I found the ministers of France equally impressed with the talents and integrity of Dr. Franklin. The Count de Vergennes particularly gave me repeated and unequivocal demonstrations of his entire confidence in him.

"The succession to Dr. Franklin at the court of France was an excellent school of humility. On being presented to any one as the minister of America, the commonplace question used in such cases was, '*Il est vous, Monsieur, qui remplacez le Docteur Franklin?* It is you, Sir, who replace Dr. Franklin?' I generally answered, 'No one can replace him, Sir; I am only his successor.'"

Again in 1818 Mr. Jefferson wrote to the late Robert Walsh, who had questioned him in regard to Franklin's alleged subserviency to France, the following letter:

"Monticello, December 4, 1818.

"DEAR SIR,

"Yours of November 8th has been some time received; but it is in my power to give little satisfaction as to its inquiries. Dr. Franklin had many political enemies, as every character must which, with decision enough to have opinions, has energy and talent to give them effect on the feelings of the adversary opinion. These enmities were chiefly in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. In the former they were merely of the proprietary party; in the latter, they did not commence till the Revolution, and then sprung chiefly from personal animosities, which, spreading by little and little, at length became of some extent. Dr. Lee was his principal calumniator, a man of much malignity, who, besides enlisting his whole family in the same hostility, was enabled, as the agent of Massachusetts to the British government, to infuse it into that State with considerable effect. Mr. Izard, the Doctor's enemy also, but from a pecuniary transaction, never countenanced these charges against him. Mr. Jay, Silas Deane, Mr. Laurens, his colleagues also, ever maintained towards him unlimited confidence and respect. That he would have waived the formal recognition of our independence I never heard on any authority worthy notice. As to the fisheries, England was urgent to retain them exclusively, France neutral, and I believe that

* Letter written from Philadelphia, February 12, 1791; to whom, not known. See Jefferson's Works, Vol. III. p. 212.

had they been ultimately made a *sine qua non*, our Commissioners (Mr. Adams excepted) would have relinquished them rather than have broken off the treaty. To Mr. Adams's perseverance alone on that point I have always understood we are indebted for their reservation. As to the charge of subservience to France, besides the evidence of his friendly colleagues before named, two years of my own service with him at Paris, daily visits, and the most friendly and confidential conversation, convince me it had not a shadow of foundation. He possessed the confidence of that government in the highest degree, inasmuch that it may truly be said that they were more under his influence than he under theirs. The fact is that his temper was so amiable and conciliatory, his conduct so rational, never urging impossibilities, or even things unreasonably inconvenient to them, in short, so moderate and attentive to their difficulties, as well as to our own, that what his enemies called subserviency, I saw was only that reasonable disposition, which, sensible that advantages are not all to be on one side, yielding what is just and liberal, is the more certain of obtaining liberality and justice. Mutual confidence produces, of course, mutual influence, and this was all which subsisted between Dr. Franklin and the government of France."

This seems the most suitable place for laying before the reader some anecdotes of Franklin which Jefferson thought worth preserving in his diary.

ANECDOTES OF DOCTOR FRANKLIN.

Our revolutionary process, as is well known, commenced by petitions, memorials, remonstrances, &c., from the old Congress. These were followed by a non-importation agreement, as a pacific instrument of coercion. While that was before us, and sundry exceptions, as of arms, ammunition, &c., were moved from different quarters of the house, I was sitting by Doctor Franklin, and observed to him that I thought we should except books; that we ought not to exclude science, even coming from an enemy. He thought so too, and I proposed the exception, which was agreed to. Soon after it occurred that medicine should be exempted, and I suggested that also to the Doctor. "As to that," said he, "I will tell you a story. When I was in London, in such a year, there was a weekly club of physicians, of which Sir John Pringle was president, and I was invited by my friend Dr. Fothergill to attend when convenient. Their rule was to propose a thesis one week and discuss it the next. I happened there when the question to be considered was whether physicians had, on the whole, done most good or harm? The young members, particularly, having discussed it very learnedly and eloquently till the subject was exhausted, one of them observed to Sir John Pringle, that although it was not usual for the president to take part in a debate, yet they were desirous to know his opinion on the question. He said they must first tell him whether under the appellation

of physicians they meant to include *old women*; if they did, he thought they had done more good than harm; otherwise, more harm than good."

The confederation of the States, while on the carpet before the old Congress, was strenuously opposed by the smaller States, which feared being swallowed up by the larger ones. We were long engaged in the discussion; it produced great heats, much ill humor, and intemperate declarations from some members. Dr. Franklin at length brought the debate to a close with one of his little apologues. He observed that "at the time of the union of England and Scotland, the Duke of Argyle was most violently opposed to that measure, and among other things predicted that, as the whale had swallowed Jonah, so Scotland would be swallowed by England. However," said the Doctor, "when Lord Bute came into the government, he soon brought into its administration so many of his countrymen, that it was found in the event that Jonah swallowed the whale." This little story produced a general laugh, and restored good humor, and the article of difficulty was passed.

When Dr. Franklin went to France on his revolutionary mission, his eminence as a philosopher, his venerable appearance, and the cause on which he was sent, rendered him extremely popular. For all ranks and conditions of men there entered warmly into the American interest. He was, therefore, feasted and invited to all the court parties. At these he sometimes met the old Duchess of Bourbon, who, being a chess-player of about his force, they very generally played together. Happening once to put her king into prize, the Doctor took it. "Ah," says she, "we do not take kings so!" "We do in America," said the Doctor.

At one of these parties, the Emperor Joseph II., then at Paris, incog., under the title of Count Falkenstein, was overlooking the game in silence, while the company was engaged in animated conversations on the American question. "How happens it, M. le Comte," said the Duchess, "that while we all feel so much interest in the cause of the Americans, you say nothing for them?" "I am a King by trade," said he.

The Doctor told me at Paris the two following anecdotes of the Abbé Raynal. He had a party to dine with him one day at Passy, of whom one half were Americans, the other half French, and among the last was the Abbé. During the dinner he got on his favorite theory of the degeneracy of animals, and even of man, in America, and urged it with his usual eloquence. The Doctor at length noticing the accidental stature and position of his guests, at table, "Come," says he, "M. l'Abbé, let us try this question by the fact before us. We are here one half Americans, and one half French, and it happens that the Americans have placed themselves on one side of the table, and our French friends are on the other. Let both parties rise, and we will see on which side nature has degenerated." It happened that his American guests were Carmichael, Harmer, Humphreys, and others of the finest stature and form; while those of the other side were remarkably

diminutive; and the Abbé himself particularly was a mere shrimp. He parried the appeal, however, by a complimentary admission of exceptions, among which the Doctor himself was a conspicuous one.

The Doctor and Silas Deane were in conversation one day at Passy, on the numerous errors in the Abbé's "Histoire des deux Indes," when he happened to step in. After the usual salutations, Silas Deane said to him, "The Doctor and myself, Abbé, were just speaking of the errors of fact into which you have been led in your history." "Oh, no, sir," said the Abbé, "that is impossible. I took great pains not to insert a single fact for which I had not the most unquestionable authority." "Why," says Deane, "there is the story of Polly Baker, and the eloquent apology you have put into her mouth, when brought before a court of Massachusetts to suffer punishment under a law which you cite for having had a bastard. I know there never was such a law in Massachusetts." "Be assured," said the Abbé, "you are mistaken, and that is a true story. I do not immediately recollect the particular information on which I quote it; but I am certain I had for it unquestionable authority." Doctor Franklin, who had been for some time shaking with unrestrained laughter at the Abbé's confidence in his authority for that tale, said, "I will tell you, Abbé, the origin of that story. When I was a printer, and editor of a newspaper, we were sometimes slack of news, and, to amuse our customers, I used to fill up our vacant columns with anecdotes and fables, and fancies of my own, and this of Polly Baker is a story of my making, on one of these occasions." The Abbé, without the least disconcern, exclaimed, with a laugh, "Oh, very well, Doctor, I had rather relate your stories than other men's truths."—ED.

CHAPTER IX.

Preparation for leaving France—The Cargo of Onions—Foundling Hospitals—The Three Greenlanders—Official Salaries—American Royalists—Elective Bishops—His Abridged Liturgy—Quits Passy—Journey to Havre—Voyage to Southampton—Attention from English Friends—Voyage to the United States—Arrival Home.

1785.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 5 May, 1785.

I RECEIVED your little letter from Dover, which gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of your happy progress so far in your way home. I hope the rest of your journey was as prosperous.*

You talk of obligations to me, when in fact I am the person obliged. I passed a long winter, which appeared the shortest of any I ever past. Such is the effect of pleasing society, with friends one loves.

I have now received my permission to return, and am making my preparations. I hope to get away in June. I promise myself, or rather flatter myself, that I shall be happy when at home. But, however happy that circumstance may make me, your joining me there will surely make me happier, provided your change of country may

* She and her children had spent the previous winter with Franklin at Passy.—ED.

be for the advantage of your dear little family. When you have made up your mind on the subject, let me know by a line, that I may prepare a house for you as near me, and otherwise as convenient for you, as possible.

My neighbours begin to come out from Paris, and replace themselves in their Passy houses. They inquire after you, and are sorry you are gone before they could make themselves known to you. M. Le Veillard, in particular, has told me at different times, what indeed I knew long since, *C'est une bien digne femme, cette Madame Hewson, une très aimable femme.* I would not tell you this if I thought it would make you vain; but that is impossible; you have too much good sense.

So wish me a good voyage, and, when you pray at church for all that travel by land or sea, think of your ever affectionate friend.

P. S. My love to William, and Thomas, and Eliza, and tell them I miss their cheerful prattle. Temple being sick, and Benjamin at Paris, I have found it very *triste* breakfasting alone, and sitting alone, and without any tea in the evening.

To Jonathan Williams, dated Passy, 19 May, 1785.

——The conversations you mention respecting America are suitable. Those people speak what they wish; but she was certainly never in a more happy situation. They are angry with us, and speak all manner of evil of us; but we flourish, notwithstanding. They put me in mind of a violent High Church factor, resident in Boston, when I was a boy. He had bought upon speculation a Connecticut cargo of onions, which he flattered himself he might sell again to great profit, but the

price fell, and they lay upon hand. He was heartily vexed with his bargain, especially when he observed they began to *grow* in the store he had filled with them. He showed them one day to a friend. "Here they are," said he, "and they are *growing* too! I damn them every day; but I think they are like the Presbyterians; the more I curse them, the more they grow."

To George Whatley, dated Passy, 23 May, 1785.

I sent you a few lines the other day, with my medallion, when I should have written more, but was prevented by the coming in of a *bavard*, who worried me till evening. I bore with him, and now you are to bear with me; for I shall probably *bavarder* in answering your letter.

I am not acquainted with the saying of Alphonsus, which you allude to as a sanctification of your rigidity, in refusing to allow me the plea of old age, as an excuse for my want of exactness in correspondence. What was that saying? You do not, it seems, feel any occasion for such an excuse, though you are, as you say, rising seventy-five. But I am rising (perhaps more properly falling) eighty, and I leave the excuse with you till you arrive at that age; perhaps you may then be more sensible of its validity, and see fit to use it for yourself.

I must agree with you, that the gout is bad, and that the stone is worse. I am happy in not having them both together, and I join in your prayer, that you may live till you die without either. But I doubt the author of the epitaph you send me was a little mistaken, when he, speaking of the world, says, that

> "he ne'er cared a pin
> What they said or may say of the mortal within."

It is so natural to wish to be well spoken of, whether alive or dead, that I imagine he could not be quite exempt from that desire; and that at least he wished to be thought a wit, or he would not have given himself the trouble of writing so good an epitaph to leave behind him. Was it not as worthy of his care that the world should say he was an honest and a good man? I like better the concluding sentiment in the old song, called "The Old Man's Wish," wherein, after wishing for a warm house in a country town, an easy horse, some good authors, ingenious and cheerful companions, a pudding on Sundays, with stout ale, and a bottle of Burgundy, &c. &c., in separate stanzas, each ending with this burthen,

> "May I govern my passions with absolute sway,
> Grow wiser and better as my strength wears away,
> Without gout or stone, by a gentle decay;"

he adds,

> "With a courage undaunted may I face my last day,
> And, when I am gone, may the better sort say,
> 'In the morning when sober, in the evening when mellow,
> He 's gone, and has not left behind him his fellow;
> For he governed his passions, &c.'"

But what signifies our wishing? Things happen, after all, as they will happen. I have sung that *wishing song* a thousand times, when I was young, and now find, at fourscore, that the three contraries have befallen me, being subject to the gout and the stone, and not being yet master of all my passions. Like the proud girl in my country, who wished and resolved not to marry a parson, nor a Presbyterian, nor an Irishman; and at length found herself married to an Irish Presbyterian parson.

You see I have some reason to wish, that, in a future state, I may not only be *as well as I was*, but a little better. And I hope it; for I, too, with your poet, *trust in God.* And when I observe, that there is great frugality, as well as wisdom, in his works, since he has been evidently sparing both of labor and materials; for by the various wonderful inventions of propagation, he has provided for the continual peopling his world with plants and animals, without being at the trouble of repeated new creations; and by the natural reduction of compound substances to their original elements, capable of being employed in new compositions, he has prevented the necessity of creating new matter; so that the earth, water, air, and perhaps fire, which being compounded form wood, do, when the wood is dissolved, return, and again become air, earth, fire, and water; I say, that, when I see nothing annihilated, and not even a drop of water wasted, I cannot suspect the annihilation of souls, or believe, that he will suffer the daily waste of millions of minds ready made that now exist, and put himself to the continual trouble of making new ones. Thus finding myself to exist in the world, I believe I shall, in some shape or other, always exist; and, with all the inconveniences human life is liable to, I shall not object to a new edition of mine; hoping, however, that the *errata* of the last may be corrected.

I return your note of children received in the Foundling Hospital at Paris, from 1741 to 1755, inclusive; and I have added the years succeeding, down to 1770. Those since that period I have not been able to obtain. I have noted in the margin the gradual increase, viz. from every tenth child so thrown upon the public, till it comes to every third! Fifteen years have passed since the last account,

and probably it may now amount to one half. Is it right to encourage this monstrous deficiency of natural affection? A surgeon I met with here excused the women of Paris, by saying, seriously, that they *could not* give suck; "*Car*," said he, "*elles n'ont point de tetons.*" He assured me it was a fact, and bade me look at them, and observe how flat they were on the breast; "they have nothing more there," said he, "than I have upon the back of my hand." I have since thought that there might be some truth in his observation, and that, possibly, nature, finding they made no use of bubbies, has left off giving them any. Yet, since Rousseau pleaded, with admirable eloquence, for the rights of children to their mother's milk, the mode has changed a little; and some ladies of quality now suckle their infants and find milk enough. May the mode descend to the lower ranks, till it becomes no longer the custom to pack their infants away, as soon as born, to the *Enfans Trouvés*, with the careless observation, that the King is better able to maintain them.

I am credibly informed, that nine-tenths of them die there pretty soon, which is said to be a great relief to the institution, whose funds would not otherwise be sufficient to bring up the remainder. Except the few persons of quality above mentioned, and the multitude who send to the Hospital, the practice is to hire nurses in the country to carry out the children, and take care of them there. Here is an office for examining the health of nurses, and giving them licenses. They come to town on certain days of the week in companies to receive the children, and we often meet trains of them on the road returning to the neighbouring villages, with each a child in her arms. But those, who are good enough to try this way of raising their

children, are often not able to pay the expense; so that the prisons of Paris are crowded with wretched fathers and mothers confined *pour mois de nourrice*, though it is laudably a favorite charity to pay for them, and set such prisoners at liberty. I wish success to the new project of assisting the poor to keep their children at home, because I think there is no nurse like a mother (or not many), and that, if parents did not immediately send their infants out of their sight, they would in a few days begin to love them, and thence be spurred to greater industry for their maintenance. This is a subject you understand better than I, and, therefore, having perhaps said too much, I drop it. I only add to the notes a remark, from the "History of the Academy of Sciences," much in favor of the Foundling Institution.

The Philadelphia bank goes on, as I hear, very well. What you call the Cincinnati Institution is no institution of our government, but a private convention among the officers of our late army, and so universally disliked by the people, that it is supposed it will be dropped. It was considered as an attempt to establish something like an hereditary rank or nobility. I hold with you, that it was wrong; may I add, that *all descending honors* are wrong and absurd; that the honor of virtuous actions appertains only to him that performs them, and is in its nature incommunicable. If it were communicable by descent, it must also be divisible among the descendants; and the more ancient the family, the less would be found existing in any one branch of it; to say nothing of the greater chance of unlucky interruptions.*

* See *supra*, letter to Mrs. Bache, dated January 26th, 1784.—ED.

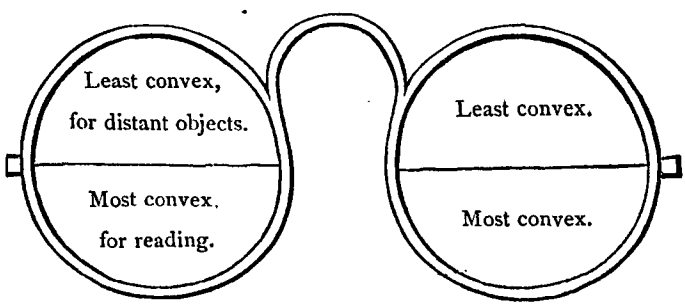
Our constitution seems not to be well understood with you. If the Congress were a permanent body, there would be more reason in being jealous of giving it powers. But its members are chosen annually, cannot be chosen more than three years successively, nor more than three years in seven; and any of them may be recalled at any time, whenever their constituents shall be dissatisfied with their conduct.* They are of the people, and return again to mix with the people, having no more durable preëminence than the different grains of sand in an hourglass. Such an assembly cannot easily become dangerous to liberty. They are the servants of the people, sent together to do the people's business, and promote the public welfare; their powers must be sufficient, or their duties cannot be performed. They have no profitable appointments, but a mere payment of daily wages, such as are scarcely equivalent to their expenses; so that, having no chance for great places, and enormous salaries or pensions, as in some countries, there is no canvassing or bribing for elections.

I wish Old England were as happy in its government, but I do not see it. Your people, however, think their constitution the best in the world, and affect to despise ours. It is comfortable to have a good opinion of one's self, and of every thing that belongs to us; to think one's own religion, king, and wife, the best of all possible wives, kings, or religions. I remember three Greenlanders, who had travelled two years in Europe under the care of some Moravian missionaries, and had visited Germany, Denmark, Holland, and England. When I asked them at Philadelphia, where they were in their way home, whether, now

* Such were the provisions of the old Articles of Confederation.—ED.

they had seen how much more commodiously the white people lived by the help of the arts, they would not choose to remain among us; their answer was, that they were pleased with having had an opportunity of seeing so many fine things, *but they chose to* LIVE *in their own country.* Which country, by the way, consisted of rock only, for the Moravians were obliged to carry earth in their ship from New York, for the purpose of making a cabbage garden.

By Mr. Dollond's saying, that my double spectacles can only serve particular eyes, I doubt he has not been rightly informed of their construction. I imagine it will be found pretty generally true, that the same convexity of glass, through which a man sees clearest and best at the distance proper for reading, is not the best for greater distances. I therefore had formerly two pair of spectacles, which I shifted occasionally, as in travelling I sometimes read, and often wanted to regard the prospects. Finding this change troublesome, and not always sufficiently ready, I had the glasses cut, and half of each kind associated in the same circle, thus,



By this means, as I wear my spectacles constantly, I have only to move my eyes up or down, as I want to see dis-

tinctly far or near, the proper glasses being always ready. This I find more particularly convenient since my being in France, the glasses that serve me best at table to see what I eat, not being the best to see the faces of those on the other side of the table who speak to me; and when one's ears are not well accustomed to the sounds of a language, a sight of the movements in the features of him that speaks helps to explain; so that I understand French better by the help of my spectacles.

My intended translator of your piece, the only one I know who understands the *subject*, as well as the two languages, (which a translator ought to do, or he cannot make so good a translation,) is at present occupied in an affair that prevents his undertaking it; but that will soon be over. I thank you for the notes. I should be glad to have another of the printed pamphlets.

We shall always be ready to take your children, if you send them to us. I only wonder, that, since London draws to itself, and consumes such numbers of your country people, the country should not, to supply their places, want and willingly receive the children you have to dispose of. That circumstance, together with the multitude who voluntarily part with their freedom as men, to serve for a time as lackeys, or for life as soldiers, in consideration of small wages, seems to me proof that your island is over-peopled. And yet it is afraid of emigrations!

To Thomas Barclay, dated Passy, 19 June, 1785.

With respect to my continuing to charge two thousand five hundred pounds sterling per annum as my salary, of which you desire some explanation, I send you, in support of that charge, the resolution of Congress, which is in these words.

"In Congress, October 5th, 1779. Resolved, that each of the Ministers Plenipotentiary be allowed at the rate of two thousand five hundred pounds sterling per annum, and each of their secretaries at the rate of one thousand pounds sterling per annum, in full for their services and expenses respectively. That the salary of each of the said officers be computed from the time of his leaving his place of abode, to enter on the duties of his office, and be continued three months after the notice of his recall."

The several bills I afterwards received, drawn on the Congress banker, Mr. Grand, for my salary, were all calculated on that sum, as my salary; and neither the banker nor myself has received notice of any change respecting me. He has accordingly, since the drawing ceased, continued to pay me at the same rate. I have, indeed, heard, that a resolution was passed last year, that the salaries of Plenipotentiaries should be no more than two thousand pounds sterling per annum. But the resolution, I suppose, can relate only to such Plenipotentiaries as should be afterwards appointed; for I cannot conceive, that the Congress, after promising a minister twenty-five hundred pounds a year, and when he has thereby been encouraged to engage in a way of living for their honor, which only that salary can support, would think it just to diminish it a fifth, and leave him under the difficulty of reducing his expenses proportionably; a thing scarce practicable; the necessity of which he might have avoided, if he had not confided in their original promise.

But the article of salary with all the rest of my accounts will be submitted to the judgment of Congress, together with some other considerable articles I have not charged, but on which I shall expect, from their equity, some con-

sideration. If, for want of knowing precisely the intention of Congress, what expenses should be deemed public, and what private, I have charged any article to the public, which should be defrayed by me, their banker has my order, as soon as the pleasure of Congress shall be made known to him, to rectify the error, by transferring the amount to my private account, and discharging by so much that of the public.

To ——, dated Passy, 20 June, 1785.

I have just received the only letter from you that has given me pain. It informs me of your intention to attempt passing to England in the car of a balloon. In the present imperfect state of that invention, I think it much too soon to hazard a voyage of that distance. It is said here by some of those, who have had experience, that as yet they have not found means to keep up a balloon more than two hours; for that, by now and then losing air to prevent rising too high and bursting, and now and then discharging ballast to avoid descending too low, these means of regulation are exhausted. Besides this, all the circumstances of danger by disappointment, in the operation of *soupapes*, &c. &c., seem not to be yet well known, and therefore not easily provided against. For on Wednesday last M. Pilâtre de Rosier, who had studied the subject as much as any man, lost his support in the air, by the bursting of his balloon, or by some other means we are yet unacquainted with, and fell with his companion from the height of one thousand toises, on the rocky coast, and were both found dashed to pieces.

You, having lived a good life, do not fear death. But pardon the anxious freedom of a friend, if he tells you,

that, the continuance of your life being of importance to your family and your country, though you might laudably hazard it for their good, you have no right to risk it for a fancy. I pray God this may reach you in time, and have some effect towards changing your design.

To Francis Maseres, dated Passy, 26 June, 1785.

I agree with you perfectly in the opinion, that, though the contest has been hurtful to both our countries, yet the event, a separation, is better even for yours than success. The reducing and keeping us in subjection by an armed force would have cost you more than the dominion could be worth, and our slavery would have brought on yours. The ancient system of the British empire was a happy one, by which the colonies were allowed to govern and tax themselves. Had it been wisely continued, it is hard to imagine the degree of power and importance in the world that empire might have arrived at. All the means of growing greatness, extent of territory, agriculture, commerce, arts, population, were within its own limits, and therefore at its command.

I used to consider that system as a large and beautiful porcelain vase; I lamented the measures that I saw likely to break it, and strove to prevent them; because, once broken, I saw no probability of its being ever repaired. My endeavours did not succeed; we are broken, and the parts must now do as well as they can for themselves. We may still do well, though separated. I have great hopes of our side, and good wishes for yours. The anarchy and confusion you mention, as supposed to prevail among us, exist only in your newspapers. I have authentic accounts, which assure me, that no people were ever better governed, or more content with their respective constitu-

tions and governments, than the present Thirteen States of America.

A little reflection may convince any reasonable man, that a government wherein the administrators are chosen annually by the free voice of the governed, and may also be recalled at any time if their conduct displeases their constituents, cannot be a tyrannical one, as your Loyalists represent it; who at the same time inconsistently desire to return and live under it. And, among an intelligent, enlightened people, as ours is, there must always be too numerous and too strong a party for supporting good government and the laws, to suffer what is called anarchy. This better account of our situation must be pleasing to your humanity, and therefore I give it you.

But we differ a little in our sentiments respecting the Loyalists (as they call themselves), and the conduct of America towards them, which, you think, "seems actuated by a spirit of revenge; and that it would have been more agreeable to policy, as well as justice, to have restored their estates upon their taking the oaths of allegiance to the new governments." That there should still be some resentment against them in the breasts of those, who have had their houses, farms, and towns so lately destroyed, and relations scalped under the conduct of these royalists, is not wonderful; though I believe the opposition given by many to their reëstablishing among us is owing to a firm persuasion, that there could be no reliance on their oaths; and that the effect of receiving those people again would be an introduction of that very anarchy and confusion they falsely reproach us with. Even the example you propose, of the English Commonwealth's restoring the estates of the royalists after their being subdued, seems rather to countenance

and encourage our acting differently, as probably if the power, which always accompanies property, had not been restored to the royalists, if their estates had remained confiscated, and their persons had been banished, they could not have so much contributed to the restoration of kingly power, and the new government of the republic might have been more durable.

The majority of examples in your history are on the other side of the question. All the estates in England and south of Scotland, and most of those possessed by the descendants of the English in Ireland, are held from ancient confiscations made of the estates of Caledonians and Britons, the original possessors in your island, or the native Irish, in the last century only. It is but a few months since, that your Parliament has, in a few instances, given up confiscations incurred by a rebellion suppressed forty years ago. The war against us was begun by a general act of Parliament, declaring all our estates confiscated; and probably one great motive to the loyalty of the royalists was the hope of sharing in these confiscations. They have played a deep game, staking their estates against ours; and they have been unsuccessful. But it is a surer game, since they had promises to rely on from your government, of indemnification in case of loss; and I see your Parliament is about to fulfil those promises. To this I have no objection, because, though still our enemies, they are men; they are in necessity; and I think even a hired assassin has a right to his pay from his employer. It seems too more reasonable, that the expense of paying these should fall upon the government who encouraged the mischief done, rather than upon us who suffered it; the confiscated estates making amends but for a very small part of that mischief. It is not, there-

fore, clear, that our retaining them is chargeable with injustice.

I have hinted above, that the name *loyalist* was improperly assumed by these people. *Royalists* they may perhaps be called. But the true *loyalists* were the people of America, against whom they acted. No people were ever known more truly loyal, and universally so, to their sovereigns. The Protestant succession in the House of Hanover was their idol. Not a Jacobite was to be found from one end of the Colonies to the other. They were affectionate to the people of England, zealous and forward to assist in her wars, by voluntary contributions of men and money, even beyond their proportion. The King and Parliament had frequently acknowledged this by public messages, resolutions, and reimbursements. But they were equally fond of what they esteemed their rights; and, if they resisted when those were attacked, it was a resistance in favor of a British constitution, which every Englishman might share in enjoying, who should come to live among them; it was resisting arbitrary impositions, that were contrary to common right and to their fundamental constitutions, and to constant ancient usage. It was indeed a resistance in favor of the liberties of England, which might have been endangered by success in the attempt against ours; and therefore a great man in your Parliament* did not scruple to declare, he *rejoiced that America had resisted.* I, for the same reason, may add this very resistance to the other instances of their loyalty. I have already said, that I think it just you should reward those Americans, who joined your troops in the war against their own country; but, if

* The first Lord Chatham.—ED.

ever honesty could be inconsistent with policy, it is so in this instance.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 26 June, 1785.

I wrote to you the 5th of last month, and have since received your kind letters of the 8th, informing me of your welfare, and that of the dear children, which gave me great pleasure. I shall long to see you all again in America, where I hope to be soon. Almost all my things are now packed up, and will be in the barge next Wednesday, to go down the river; for, though I know not yet what vessel I shall go in, I would have every thing at Havre ready to embark; and I suppose I shall not be here myself a fortnight longer.

I say nothing to persuade you to go with me or to follow me; because I know you do not usually act from persuasion, but from judgment; and, as that is very sound, I leave you to yourself. You will do what is best for you and yours, and that will give me most pleasure. Miss Lamotte's friends do not consent to her going to England. I enclose her letter, by which you will see, that, though she speaks the language prettily, she does not write it correctly. Indeed, abundance of the French are deficient in their own orthography. I offered her, as you desired, the money that might be necessary for the journey.

Temple is not yet quite well, having had several returns of his ague. Benjamin continues hearty, and has been very serviceable in packing. They both present their respects.

If you should write me a line before my departure, direct it to Havre de Grace. Adieu, my very dear friend, and believe me ever yours with sincerest respect and affection.

P. S. My love to every one of the children.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Passy, 4 July, 1785.

By this post I have given orders to engage a fine ship, now at London, to carry me and my family to Philadelphia. My baggage is already on the Seine, going down to Havre, from whence, if the captain cannot call for us there, we shall cross the channel, and meet him at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight. The ship has a large, convenient cabin, with good lodging-places. The whole to be at my disposition, and there is plenty of room for you and yours. You may never have so good an opportunity of passing to America, if it is your intention. Think of it, and take your resolution; believing me ever your affectionate friend.

P. S. Love to the dear children. If Mr. Williams is returned to London, he will inform you of the particulars. If not, you may inquire of Wallace, Johnson, and Muir, merchants, London, to be heard of at the Pennsylvania Coffee-House, Birchin Lane. The ship is to be at Cowes the 1st of August.

To Granville Sharp, dated Passy, 5 July, 1785.

I received the books you were so kind as to send me by Mr. Drown. Please to accept my hearty thanks. Your writings, which always have some public good for their object, I always read with pleasure. I am perfectly of your opinion, with respect to the salutary law of *gavelkind*, and hope it may in time be established throughout America. In six of the States, already, the lands of intestates are divided equally among the children, if all girls; but there is a double share given to the eldest son, for which I see no more reason, than giving such share to the eldest daughter; and I think there should be no distinction. Since my being last in France,

I have seen several of our eldest sons, spending idly their fortunes by residing in Europe and neglecting their own country; these are from the southern States. The northern young men stay at home, and are industrious, useful citizens; the more equal division of their fathers' fortunes not enabling them to ramble and spend their shares abroad, which is so much the better for their country.

I like your piece on the election of bishops. There is a fact in Holinshed's "Chronicles," the latter part relating to Scotland, which shows, if my memory does not deceive me, that the first bishop in that country was elected by the clergy. I mentioned it some time past in a letter to two young men,* who asked my advice about obtaining ordination, which had been denied them by the bishops in England, unless they would take the oath of allegiance to the King; and I said, I imagine, that, unless a bishop is soon sent over with power to consecrate others, so that we may have no future occasion for applying to England for ordination, we may think it right, after reading your piece, to elect also.

The Liturgy you mention was an abridgment of that made by a noble Lord of my acquaintance, who requested me to assist him by taking the rest of the book, viz. the Catechism and the reading and singing Psalms. These I abridged by retaining of the Catechism only the two questions, *What is your duty to God? What is your duty to your neighbour?* with answers. The Psalms were much contracted by leaving out the repetitions (of which I found more than I could have imagined), and the imprecations, which appeared not to suit well the Christian doctrine of

* See the Letter to Messrs. Weems and Gant, *supra*, page 270.—ED.

forgiveness of injuries, and doing good to enemies. The book was printed for Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church Yard, but never much noticed. Some were given away, very few sold, and I suppose the bulk became waste paper. In the prayers so much was retrenched, that approbation could hardly be expected; but I think, with you, a moderate abridgment might not only be useful, but generally acceptable.*

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* The title of the volume, alluded to in the text, is as follows: "*Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches. London; printed in the Year* MDCCLXXIII." The "noble Lord," mentioned as aiding in the preparation of this volume, was Lord Le Despencer. The *Preface* is wholly from the pen of Dr. Franklin, and runs as follows.

"PREFACE.

"The editor of the following abridgment of the Liturgy of the Church of England thinks it but decent and respectful to all, more particularly to the reverend body of clergy, who adorn the Protestant religion by their good works, preaching, and example, that he should humbly offer some reasons for such an undertaking. He addresses himself to the serious and discerning. He professes himself to be a Protestant of the Church of England, and holds in the highest veneration the doctrines of Jesus Christ. He is a sincere lover of social worship, deeply sensible of its usefulness to society; and he aims at doing some service to religion, by proposing such abbreviations and omissions in the forms of our Liturgy (retaining every thing he thinks essential) as might, if adopted, procure a more general attendance. For, besides the differing sentiments of many pious and well-disposed persons in some speculative points, who in general have a good opinion of our Church, it has often been observed and complained of, that the Morning and Evening Service, as practised in England and elsewhere, are so long, and filled with so many repetitions, that the continued attention suitable to so serious a duty becomes impracticable, the mind wanders, and the fervency of devotion is slackened. Also the propriety of saying the same prayer more than once in the same service is doubted, as the service is thereby lengthened without apparent necessity; our Lord having given us a short prayer as an example, and censured the heathen for thinking to be heard because of much speaking.

"Moreover, many pious and devout persons, whose age or infirmities

I am now on the point of departing for America, where I shall be glad occasionally to hear from you, and of your

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will not suffer them to remain for hours in a cold church, especially in the winter season, are obliged to forego the comfort and edification they would receive by their attendance on divine service. These, by shortening the time, would be relieved; and the younger sort, who have had some principles of religion instilled into them, and who have been educated in a belief of the necessity of adoring their Maker, would probably more frequently, as well as cheerfully, attend divine service, if they were not detained so long at any one time. Also many well disposed tradesmen, shopkeepers, artificers, and others, whose habitations are not remote from churches, could, and would, more frequently at least, find time to attend divine service on other than Sundays, if the prayers were reduced into a much narrower compass.

"Formerly there were three services performed at different times of the day, which three services are now usually joined in one. This may suit the conveniency of the person who officiates, but is too often inconvenient and tiresome to the congregation. If this abridgment, therefore, should ever meet with acceptance, the well-disposed clergy, who are laudably desirous to encourage the *frequency* of divine service, may promote so great and good a purpose, by repeating it three times on a Sunday, without so much fatigue to themselves as at present. Suppose, at nine o'clock, at eleven, and at one in the evening; and by preaching no more sermons than usual, of a moderate length; and thereby accommodate a greater number of people with convenient hours.

"These were general reasons for wishing and proposing an abridgment. In attempting it we do not presume to dictate even to a single Christian. We are sensible there is a proper authority in the rulers of the Church for ordering such matters; and whenever the time shall come when it may be thought not unseasonable to revise our Liturgy, there is no doubt but every suitable improvement will be made, under the care and direction of so much learning, wisdom, and piety, in one body of men collected. Such a work as this must then be much better executed. In the mean time, this humble performance may serve to show the practicability of shortening the service near one half, without the omission of what is essentially necessary; and we hope, moreover, that the book may be occasionally of some use to families, or private assemblies of Christians.

"To give now some account of particulars. We have presumed upon this plan of abridgment to omit the First Lesson, which is taken from the Old Testament, and retain only the Second from the New Testament; which, we apprehend, is more suitable to teach the so-much-to-be-revered doctrine of Christ, and of more immediate importance to Christians; although the

welfare; being with sincere and great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

Old Testament is allowed by all to be an accurate and concise history, and, as such, may more properly be read at home.

"We do not conceive it necessary for Christians to make use of more than one Creed. Therefore in this abridgment are omitted the Nicene Creed, and that of St. Athanasius. Of the Apostles' Creed we have retained the parts that are most intelligible and most essential. And as the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, are there confessedly and avowedly a part of the belief, it does not appear necessary after so solemn a confession, to repeat again, in the Litany, the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, as that part of the service is otherwise very prolix.

"The Psalms, being a collection of Odes, written by different persons, it hath happened that many of them are on the same subject, and repeat the same sentiments; such as those that complain of enemies and persecutors, call upon God for protection, express a confidence therein, and thank him for it when afforded. A very great part of the book consists of repetitions of this kind, which may therefore well bear abridgment. Other parts are merely historical, repeating the mention of facts more fully narrated in the preceding books, and which, relating to the ancestors of the Jews, were more interesting to them than to us. Other parts are *local*, and allude to places of which we have no knowledge, and therefore do not affect us. Others are *personal*, relating to the particular circumstances of David or Solomon, as kings; and can therefore seldom be rehearsed with any propriety by private Christians. Others imprecate, in the most bitter terms, the vengeance of God on our adversaries, contrary to the spirit of Christianity, which commands us to love our enemies, and to pray for those that hate us, and despitefully use us. For these reasons it is to be wished, that the same liberty were, by the governors of our Church, allowed to the minister with regard to the *reading Psalms*, as is taken by the clerk, with regard to those that are to be sung, in directing the parts that he may judge most suitable to be read at the time, from the present circumstances of the congregation, or the tenor of his sermon, by saying, 'Let us *read*' such and such parts of the Psalms named. Until this is done, our abridgment, it is hoped, will be found to contain what may be most generally proper to be joined in by an assembly of Christian people. The Psalms are still apportioned to the days of the month, as heretofore, though the several parts for each day are generally a full third shorter.

"We humbly suppose the same service contained in this abridgment might properly serve for all the Saints' Days, Fasts, and Feasts, reading only the Epistle and Gospel appropriated to each day of the month.

To David Hartley, dated Passy, 5 July, 1785.

I cannot quit the coasts of Europe without taking leave of my ever dear friend Mr. Hartley. We were long fellow laborers in the

"The Communion is greatly abridged, on account of its great length; nevertheless, it is hoped and believed, that all those parts are retained which are material and necessary.

"Infant Baptism in Churches being performed during divine service, would greatly add to the length of that service, if it were not abridged. We have ventured, therefore, to leave out the less material parts.

"The Catechism, as a compendium of systematic theology, which learned divines have written folio volumes to explain, and which, therefore, it may be presumed, they thought scarce intelligible without such expositions, is, perhaps, taken altogether, not so well adapted to the capacities of children as might be wished. Only those plain answers, therefore, which express our duty towards God, and our duty towards our neighbour, are retained here. The rest is recommended to their reading and serious consideration, when more years shall have ripened their understanding.

"The Confirmation is here shortened.

"The Commination, and all cursing of mankind, is, we think, best omitted in this abridgment.

"The form of solemnization of Matrimony is often abbreviated by the officiating minister, at his discretion. We have selected what appear to us the material parts, and which, we humbly hope, will be deemed sufficient.

"The long prayers in the service for the Visitation of the Sick seem not so proper, when the afflicted person is very weak and in distress.

"The Order for the Burial of the Dead is very solemn and moving; nevertheless, to preserve the health and lives of the living, it appeared to us that this service ought particularly to be shortened. For numbers standing in the open air with their hats off, often in tempestuous weather, during the celebration, its great length is not only inconvenient, but may be dangerous to the attendants. We hope, therefore, that our abridgment of it will be approved by the rational and prudent.

"The Thanksgiving of women after childbirth being, when read, part of the service of the day, we have also, in some measure, abridged that.

"Having thus stated very briefly our motives and reasons, and our manner of proceeding in the prosecution of this work, we hope to be believed, when we declare the rectitude of our intentions. We mean not to lessen or prevent the practice of religion, but to honor and promote it. We acknowledge the excellency of our present Liturgy, and, though we have shortened it, we have not presumed to alter a word in the remaining text; not even to substitute *who* for *which* in the Lord's Prayer, and elsewhere, although it would

best of all works, the work of peace. I leave you still in the field, but, having finished my day's task, I am going home *to go to bed.* Wish me a good night's rest, as I do you a pleasant evening. Adieu! and believe me ever yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN,
in his eightieth year.

To Mrs. Mecom, dated St. Germain, twelve miles from Paris, 13 July, 1785.

I left Passy yesterday afternoon, and am here on my way to Havre de Grace, a seaport, in order to embark for America. I make use of one of the King's litters, carried by mules, which walk steadily and easily, so that I bear the motion very well. I am to be taken on board a Philadelphia ship on the coast of England, (Captain Truxtun,) the beginning of next month. Not having written to you since the letter, which contained a bill on Mr. Vernon, and as I may not have another opportunity before my arrival in Philadelphia (if it pleases God I do arrive), I write these particulars to go by way of England, that you may be less uneasy about me. I did my last public act in this country just before I set out, which was signing a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia. I have continued to

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be more correct. We respect the characters of bishops and other dignitaries of our Church, and, with regard to the inferior clergy, we wish that they were more equally provided for, than by that odious and vexatious, as well as unjust method, of gathering tythes in kind, which creates animosities and litigations; to the interruption of the good harmony and respect, which might otherwise subsist between the rectors and their parishioners.

"And thus, conscious of upright meaning, we submit this abridgment to the serious consideration of the prudent and dispassionate, and not to enthusiasts and bigots; being convinced in our own breasts, that this shortened method, or one of the same kind better executed, would further religion, increase unanimity, and occasion a more frequent attendance on the worship of God."

work till late in the day; it is time I should go home and go to bed.

Extracts from a Private Journal.

Having stayed in France about eight years and a half, I took leave of the court and my friends, and set out on my return home July 12th, 1785, leaving Passy with my two grandsons at four P.M.; arrived about eight o'clock at St. Germain. M. de Chaumont, with his daughter Sophia, accompanied us to Nanterre. M. Le Veillard will continue with us to Havre. We met at St. Germain the Miss Alexanders, with Mrs. Williams, our cousin, who had provided a lodging for me at M. Benoît's. I found that the motion of the litter, lent me by the Duke de Coigny, did not much incommode me. It was one of the Queen's, carried by two very large mules, the muleteer riding another; M. Le Veillard and my children in a carriage. We drank tea at M. Benoît's, and went early to bed.

Wednesday, July 13th.—Breakfast with our friends; take leave and continue our journey; dine at a good inn at Meulon, and get to Mantes in the evening. A messenger from the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld meets us there, with an invitation to us to stop at his house at Gaillon the next day; acquainting us at the same time, that he would take no excuse; for, being all-powerful in his archbishopric, he would stop us nolens volens at his habitation, and not permit us to lodge anywhere else. We consented. Lodged at Mantes. Found myself very little fatigued with the day's journey, the mules going only foot pace.

July 14th.—Proceed early, and breakfast at Vernon. Received a visit there from Vicomte de Tilly and his Comtesse. Arrive at the Cardinal's without dining, about

six in the afternoon. It is a superb ancient château, built about three hundred and fifty years since; but in fine preservation, on an elevated situation, with an extensive and beautiful view over a well cultivated country. The Cardinal is Archbishop of Rouen. A long gallery contains the pictures of all his predecessors. The chapel is elegant in the old style, with well-painted glass windows. The terrace magnificent. We supped early. The entertainment was kind and cheerful. We were allowed to go early to bed, on account of our intention to depart early in the morning. The Cardinal pressed us to pass another day with him, offering to amuse us with hunting in his park; but the necessity we are under of being in time at Havre, would not permit. So we took leave and retired to rest. The Cardinal is much respected and beloved by the people of this country, bearing in all respects an excellent character.

July 15th.—Set out about five in the morning; travelled till ten, then stopped to breakfast, and remained in the inn during the heat of the day. We had heard at the Cardinal's that our friend Mr. Holker, of Rouen, had been out that day as far as Port St. Antoine to meet us, expecting us there from a letter of M. de Chaumont's. Here came to us one of his servants, who was sent to inquire if any accident had happened to us on the road, and was ordered to proceed till he got intelligence. He went directly back, and we proceeded. We passed a chain of chalk mountains, very high, with strata of flints. The quantity that appears to have been washed away on one side of these mountains, leaving precipices of three hundred feet high, gives an idea of extreme antiquity. It seems as if done by the beating of the sea. We got to Rouen about five; were most

affectionately received by Mr. and Mrs. Holker. A great company of genteel people at supper, which was our dinner. The chief President of the Parliament and his lady invited us to dine the next day; but being preëngaged with Mr. Holker, we compounded for drinking tea. We lodge all at Mr. Holker's.

July 16th.—A deputation from the Academy of Rouen came with their compliments, which were delivered in form, and a present for me by one of the directors; being a magical square, which, I think he said, expressed my name. I have perused it since, but I do not comprehend it. The Duke de Chabot's son, lately married to a Montmorency, and colonel of a regiment now at Rouen, was present at the ceremony, being just come in to visit me. I forgot to mention that I saw with pleasure in the Cardinal's cabinet, a portrait of this young man's grandmother, Madame la Duchesse d'Enville, who had always been our friend, and treated us with great civilities at Paris; a lady of uncommon intelligence and merit.

I received here also a present of books, 3 vols. 4to., from Dr. ——, with a very polite letter, which I answered.

We had a great company at dinner, and at six went in a chair to the President's, where were assembled some gentlemen of the robe. We drank tea there, awkwardly made, for want of practice, very little being drunk in France. I went to bed early; but my company supped with a large invited party, and were entertained with excellent singing.

July 17th.—Set out early. Mr. Holker accompanied us some miles, when we took an affectionate leave of each other. Dine at Yvetot, a large town, and arrive at Bolbec; being the longest day's journey we have yet made. It is a market town of considerable business, and seems thriving.

The people well clad, and appear better fed than those of the wine countries. A linen printer here offered to remove to America, but I did not encourage him.

July 18th.—Left Bolbec about ten o'clock, and arrived at Havre at five P.M., having stopped on the road at a miserable inn to bait. We were very kindly received by M. and Mde. Ruellan. The governor makes us a visit, and some other gentlemen.

July 19th.—We receive visits in form from the intendant, the governor or commandant, the officers of the regiment of Poitou and Picardy, the corps of engineers, and M. Limosin.

M. Limosin proposes several vessels; all very dear. We wait for the packet from Southampton. Dine at M. Ruellan's, where we lodge. Receive the affiliation of the lodge at Rouen.

July 20th.—Return the visits. Receive one from the corps de marine, and one from the corps d'artillerie. M. Houdon arrives and brings me letters. Dine at M. Limosin's. Present M. and Mde. Le Mesurier and their sister, agreeable people of Alderney (Aurigny). Kindly entertained by M. Limosin and his daughter. Return the last visits.

The packet-boat arrives, and, the captain (Jennings) calling at our lodging, we agreed with him to carry us and the baggage we have here for ten guineas, to land us at Cowes. We are to depart to-morrow evening.

July 21st.—We had another visit from M. de Villeneuve, the commandant, inviting us to dine with him to-morrow; but, intending to go off this evening, we could not accept that honor.

Dine with our friendly host and hostess. Mde. Feinés,

Mde. de Clerval, and two other ladies visit M. Le Veillard with several gentlemen.

In the evening, when we thought we were on the point of departing, the captain of the packet comes and acquaints us that the wind is right against us, and blows so hard that it is impossible to get out, and we give up the project till to-morrow.

July 22d.—Breakfast and take leave of some friends, and go on board the packet at half after ten. Wind not very fair.

July 23d.—Buffet all night against the north-west wind, which was full in our teeth. This continued till two o'clock to-day, then came fair, and we stand on our course. At seven P.M. we discover land, the Isle of Wight.

July 24th.—We had a fair wind all night, and this morning at seven o'clock, being off Cowes, the captain represented to me the difficulty of getting in there against the flood, and proposed that we should rather run up to Southampton, which we did, and landed there between eight and nine. Met my son, who had arrived from London the evening before, with Mr. Williams and Mr. J. Alexander. Wrote a letter to the Bishop of St. Asaph, acquainting him with my arrival, and he came with his lady and daughter, Miss Kitty, after dinner to see us; they talk of staying here as long as we do. Our meeting was very affectionate. I write letters to London, viz. to Messrs. W. J. M. and Co., to acquaint them with our arrival, and desire to know when the ship will sail, to Mr. Williams. These letters went by post before we knew of his being here. Wrote also to Mr. B. Vaughan.

July 25th.—The Bishop and family lodging in the same inn, the Star, we all breakfast and dine together. I went

at noon to bathe in Martin's salt-water hot-bath, and, floating on my back, fell asleep, and slept near an hour by my watch, without sinking or turning! A thing I never did before, and should hardly have thought possible. Water is the easiest bed that can be. Read over the writings of conveyance, &c., of my son's lands in New Jersey and New York to my grandson. Write to M. Ruellan, M. Limosin, M. Holker, and M. Grand. Southampton is a very neat, pretty place. The two French gentlemen, our friends, much pleased with it. The Bishop gives me a book in 4to., written by Dean Paley, and the family dine with us. Sundry friends came to see me from London; by one I receive a present of my friend Dr. Fothergill's works, from Dr. Lettsom, and a book on finance from Mr. Gale. Mr. Williams tells me the ship had fallen down to Gravesend the 22d, so that she might be in the Downs the 24th, and possibly here to-morrow; that is on the Mother Bank, which we can see hence. Mr. Williams brought a letter from Mr. Nepean, secretary to Lord Townshend, addressed to Mr. Vaughan, expressing that orders would be sent to the custom-house at Cowes not to trouble our baggage, &c. It is still here on board the packet that brought it over. Mr. Alexander takes leave for London; write by him to Mr. Jackson, Dr. Jeffries, Dr. Lettsom, and my son-in-law Bache, the latter to be sent by the packet.

July 26th.—Deeds signed between W. Franklin and W. T. Franklin.

Mr. Williams having brought sundry necessaries for me, goes down with them to Cowes, to be ready for embarking. Captain Jennings carries down our baggage that he brought from Havre. My dear friend, M. Le Veillard, takes leave to go with him. Mr. Vaughan arrives from London to see me.

July 27th.—Give a power to my son to recover what may be due to me from the British Government. Hear from J. Williams that the ship is come.

We all dine once more with the Bishop and family, who kindly accept our invitation to go on board with us. We go down in a shallop to the ship. The captain entertains us at supper. The company stay all night.

July 28th.—When I waked in the morning, found the company gone, and the ship under sail.

Tuesday, September 13th.—The wind springing fair last evening, after a calm, we found ourselves this morning at sunrising abreast of the light-house, and between Capes May and Henlopen. We sail into the bay very pleasantly; water smooth, air cool, day fair and fine.

We passed Newcastle about sunset, and went on near to Red Bank before the tide and wind failed, then came to an anchor.

Wednesday, September 14th.—With the flood in the morning came a light breeze, which brought us above Gloucester Point, in full view of dear Philadelphia! when we again cast anchor, to wait for the health officer, who, having made his visit and finding no sickness, gave us leave to land.

My son-in-law came with a boat for us; we landed at Market Street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well.

God be praised and thanked for all his mercies!

THE LIFE OF FRANKLIN.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

CONTINUED.

FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER WRITINGS.

PART IV.

FROM THE TERMINATION OF HIS MISSION TO FRANCE IN 1785 UNTIL HIS DEATH, APRIL 17, 1790.

CHAPTER X.

Franklin's Reception in America—Elected President of Pennsylvania—The Retort Courteous—A Delegate to the Federal Convention to frame a New Constitution.

1785–1787.

To John Jay, dated Philadelphia, 19 Sept., 1785.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, that I left Paris the 12th of July, and, agreeably to the permission of Congress, am returned to my own country. Mr. Jefferson had recovered his health, and was much esteemed and respected there. Our joint letters have already informed you of our late proceedings, to which I have nothing to add, except that the last act I did, as Minister Plenipotentiary for making treaties, was to sign with him, two days before I came away, the treaty of friendship and commerce that had been agreed on with Prussia, and which was to be carried to the Hague by Mr. Short, there to be signed by Baron Thulemeier on the part of the King, who, without the least hesitation, had approved and conceded to the new humane articles proposed by Congress. Mr. Short was also to call at London for the signature of Mr. Adams, who I learned, when at Southampton, was well received at the British court.

The Captain Lamb, who, in a letter of yours to Mr. Adams, was said to be coming to us with instructions

respecting Morocco, had not appeared, nor had we heard any thing of him; so nothing had been done by us in that treaty.

I left the court of France in the same friendly disposition towards the United States, that we have all along experienced, though concerned to find, that our credit is not better supported in the payment of the interest money due on our loans, which, in case of another war, must be, they think, extremely prejudicial to us, and indeed may contribute to draw on a war the sooner, by affording our enemies the encouraging confidence, that those who take so little care to pay, will not again find it easy to borrow. I received from the King, at my departure, the present of his picture set round with diamonds, usually given to ministers plenipotentiary, who have signed any treaties with that court; and it is at the disposition of Congress, to whom be pleased to present my dutiful respects.

P. S. Not caring to trust them to a common conveyance, I send by my late secretary, who will have the honor of delivering them to you, all the original treaties I have been concerned in negotiating, that were completed. Those with Portugal and Denmark continue in suspense.

To George Washington, dated Philadelphia, 20 Sept., 1785.

I am just arrived from a country, where the reputation of General Washington runs very high, and where everybody wishes to see him in person; but, being told that it is not likely he ever will favor them with a visit, they hope at least for a sight of his perfect resemblance by means of their principal statuary, M. Houdon, whom Mr. Jefferson and myself agreed with to come over for the purpose of taking a bust, in order

to make the intended statue for the State of Virginia. He is here, but, the materials and instruments he sent down the Seine from Paris not being arrived at Havre when we sailed, he was obliged to leave them, and is now busied in supplying himself here. As soon as that is done, he proposes to wait on you in Virginia, as he understands there is no prospect of your coming hither, which would indeed make me very happy; as it would give me an opportunity of congratulating with you personally on the final success of your long and painful labors, in the service of our country, which have laid us all under eternal obligations. With the greatest and most sincere esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

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* Before receiving this letter, General Washington testified his own personal sense of the value of Dr. Franklin's public services in the following letter:

"Mount Vernon, 25 September, 1785.

"DEAR SIR,

"Amid the public gratulations on your safe return to America, after a long absence and the many eminent services you have rendered it, for which as a benefited person I feel the obligation, permit an individual to join the public voice in expressing a sense of them; and to assure you, that, as no one entertains more respect for your character, so no one can salute you with more sincerity or with greater pleasure, than I do on the occasion. With the highest regard and greatest consideration, I am, dear Sir, &c.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

On the following day he wrote another letter to Franklin acknowledging the receipt of his, and adds:

"When it suits M. Houdon to come hither I will accommodate him in the best manner I am able, and shall endeavor to render his stay as agreeable as I can. It would give me infinite pleasure to see you. At this place I dare not look for it; though to entertain you under my own roof would be doubly gratifying. When or whether I shall ever have the satisfaction of seeing you at Philadelphia is uncertain, as retirement from the public walks of life has not been so productive of leisure and ease as might have been expected."

M. Houdon profited by General Washington's invitation, and repaired

To John Jay and Mrs. Jay, dated Philadelphia, 21 Sept., 1785.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I received your very kind letter of the 16th, congratulating me on my safe arrival with my grandsons; an event that indeed makes me very happy, being what I have long ardently wished, and, considering the growing infirmities of age, began almost to despair of. I am now in the bosom of my family, and find four new little prattlers, who cling about the knees of their grandpapa, and afford me great pleasure. The affectionate welcome I met with from my fellow citizens was far beyond my expectation.

I bore my voyage very well, and find myself rather better for it, so that I have every possible reason to be satisfied with my having undertaken and performed it. When I was at Passy, I could not bear a wheel carriage; and, being discouraged in my project of descending the Seine in a boat, by the difficulties and tediousness of its navigation in so dry a season, I accepted the offer of one of the King's litters, carried by large mules, which brought me well, though in walking slowly, to Havre. Thence I went over in a packet-boat to Southampton, where I stayed four days, till the ship came for me to Spithead. Several of my London friends came there to see me, particularly the good Bishop of St. Asaph and family, who stayed with me to the last. In short, I am now so well as to think it possible, that I may once more have the pleasure of seeing you both perhaps at New York, with my dear young friends (who I hope may not have quite forgotten me); for I imagine, that on the sandy road between Burlington and Amboy I could bear an easy coach, and the rest is water. I rejoice to hear

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to Mount Vernon, where he sojourned three weeks, and modelled the statue which may now be seen in the capitol at Richmond, and copies throughout the world.—ED.

that you continue well, being with true and great esteem and affection your most obedient servant.*

To M. Le Ray de Chaumont, dated Philadelphia, 20 October, 1785.

I make no apology for writing in English, because I know my friend Sophy can tfanslate it for you.*

Immediately after my landing, I wrote to acquaint you with my safe arrival, and the absence of your son. He is since returned in good health, and writes to you by this opportunity, of which he acquainted me. I just now received your favor of August 10, with two for him. They will be put in his hands as soon as he returns from a hunting party, on which he is out at present with my son Bache and some others; but will be back here next Sunday.

I thank you for delivering the tables to Madame Le Veillard; but more particularly for the present you have made to Abbé Morellet at my request, of the doctoral chair. He had taken a vast liking to it, and the possession

* Franklin knew the French language passably well, but he never acquired a very great facility either in writing or speaking it. He learned it as early as 1733, so that he could read it a little; but when he visited France in 1767 and 1769, though he was already a celebrity in Paris, and brought letters to Madame Geoffrin from David Hume, he did not find himself adequately equipped with French for circulating in Paris society. He lost no time, when he took up his residence in France, in repairing this deficiency as well as possible at his then advanced age, and he succeeded marvellously in that, as in every thing to which he applied his mind. But there is a story told at the expense of his French, which is no doubt good testimony upon this point merely because it was current, whether authentic or not, and there is no reason, that I know of, to question its authenticity.

At a session of the Lyceum or Academy when he was present, finding it difficult to follow the exercises, and wishing to appear no less appreciative than the rest of the audience, he said that he should applaud every time he heard Madame de Boufflers give signs of approbation. It unfortunately happened that he applauded the loudest at his own praises.—ED.

must give him great pleasure. The *marmite à vapeur* I have with me here. We used it at sea with great success; though the water we boiled was salt.

As to Finck, the maitre d'hotel, he was fairly paid in money for every just demand he could make against us, and we have his receipts in full. But there are knaves in the world whom no writing can bind, and when you think you have finished with them, they come with demands after demands sans fin. He was continually saying of himself, *Je suis honnête homme; je suis honnête homme.* But I always suspected he was mistaken; and so it proves.

I hope your Princes and Princesses and Duchesses and Marquises are not birds of passage, but will stay with you as we did through the winter, that so you may pass it the more agreeably.

I will mention your project of transporting wood, &c., to some of my friends; but I think this not the best part of the country for such an undertaking.

To David Hartley, dated Philadelphia, 27 October, 1785.

Your newspapers are filled with accounts of distresses and miseries, that these States are plunged into since their separation from Britain. You may believe me when I tell you, that there is no truth in those accounts. I find all property in lands and houses augmented vastly in value; that of houses in towns at least fourfold. The crops have been plentiful, and yet the produce sells high, to the great profit of the farmer. At the same time, all imported goods sell at low rates, some cheaper than the first cost. Working people have plenty of employ and high pay for their labor.

These appear to me as certain signs of public prosperity.

Some traders, indeed, complain that trade is dead; but this pretended evil is not an effect of inability in the people to buy, pay for, and consume the usual articles of commerce, as far as they have occasion for them; it is owing merely to there being too many traders, who have crowded hither from all parts of Europe with more goods than the natural demand of the country requires. And what in Europe is called the debt of America, is chiefly the debt to these adventurers and supercargoes to their principals, with which the settled inhabitants of America, who never paid better for what they want and buy, have nothing to do. As to the contentment of the inhabitants with the change of government, methinks a stronger proof cannot be desired, than what they have given in my reception. You know the part I had in that change, and you see in the papers the addresses from all ranks with which your friend was welcomed home, and the sentiments they contain confirmed yesterday in the choice of him for President by the Council and new Assembly, which was unanimous, a single voice in seventy-seven excepted.*

* The day succeeding his arrival, Franklin was waited upon with a congratulatory address by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in which, among other things, they said:

"We are confident, Sir, that we speak the sentiments of this whole country, when we say, that your services, in the public councils and negotiations, have not only merited the thanks of the present generation, but will be recorded in the pages of history, to your immortal honor. And it is particularly pleasing to us, that, while we are sitting as members of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, we have the happiness of welcoming into the State a person who was so greatly instrumental in forming its free constitution."

The American Philosophical Society, the University of Pennsylvania, and other public bodies, gave him similar testimonies of reverence, respect, and gratitude, sentiments which took a more universal expression in the following month, when he lacked but one vote of a unanimous election as President of the State of Pennsylvania.—ED.

I remember you used to wish for newspapers from America. Herewith I send a few, and you shall be regularly supplied, if you can put me in a way of sending them, so as that you may not be obliged to pay postage.

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Philadelphia, 30 October, 1785.

I believe I acquainted you by a line, immediately after my arrival here, that we had a pleasant, and not a long passage, in which there was but one day, a day of violent storm, in which I was glad you were not with us. I had the happiness of finding my family well, and of being very kindly received by my country folks.

I say nothing to persuade your coming, because I said in a former letter, I would leave you entirely to your own judgment, which is very good. I would only mention the fact, that, on inquiry, I am informed the usual apprentice-fee to a mercantile house of eminence, is from one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds sterling. I am plunged again into public business, as deep as ever; and can now only add my love to the dear children, in which this family all join. Temple is just gone to look at his lands, and Ben is at college to complete his studies.

To John Bard and Mrs. Bard, dated Philadelphia, November, 1785.

I received your kind letter, which gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of your welfare. Your friendly congratulations are very obliging. I had on my return some right, as you observe, to expect repose; and it was my intention to avoid all public business. But I had not firmness enough to resist the unanimous desire of my country folks; and I find myself harnessed again in their service for another year. They engrossed the prime of my life.

They have eaten my flesh, and seem resolved now to pick my bones. You are right in supposing, that I interest myself in every thing that affects you and yours, sympathizing in your afflictions, and rejoicing in your felicities; for our friendship is ancient, and was never obscured by the least cloud.

To Edward Bancroft, dated Philadelphia, 26 November, 1785.

I received your kind letter of September 5th, informing me of the intention Mr. Dilly has of printing a new edition of my writings, and of his desire, that I would furnish him with such additions as I may think proper. At present all my papers and manuscripts are so mixed with other things, by the confusions occasioned in sudden and various removals during the late troubles, that I can hardly find any thing. But, having nearly finished an addition to my house, which will afford me room to put all in order, I hope soon to be able to comply with such a request; but I hope Mr. Dilly will have a good understanding in the affair with Henry and Johnson, who, having risked the former impressions, may suppose they thereby acquired some right in the copy. As to the "Life" proposed to be written, if it be by the same hand who furnished a sketch to Dr. Lettsom, which he sent me, I am afraid it will be found too full of errors for either you or me to correct; and, having been persuaded by my friends, Messrs. Vaughan and M. Le Veillard, Mr. James of this place, and some others, that such a "Life," written by myself, may be useful to the rising generation, I have made some progress in it, and hope to finish it this winter; so I cannot but wish that project of Mr. Dilly's biographer may be laid aside. I am nevertheless thankful to you for your friendly offer of correcting it.

As to public affairs, it is long since I gave over all ex-

pectations of a commercial treaty between us and Britain; and I think we can do as well, or better, without one than she can. Our harvests are plenty, our produce fetches a high price in hard money, and there are in every part of our country incontestable marks of public felicity. We discover, indeed, some errors in our general and particular constitutions; which it is no wonder they should have, the time in which they were formed being considered. But these we shall soon mend. The little disorders you have heard of in some of the States, raised by a few wrong heads, are subsiding, and will probably soon be extinguished. My best wishes, and those of my family, attend you. We shall be happy to see you here, when it suits you to visit us.

To Jonathan Shipley, dated Philadelphia, 24 Feb., 1786.

My reception here was, as you have heard, very honorable indeed; but I was betrayed by it, and by some remains of ambition, from which I had imagined myself free, to accept of the chair of government for the State of Pennsylvania, when the proper thing for me was repose and a private life. I hope, however, to be able to bear the fatigue for one year, and then to retire.

I have much regretted our having so little opportunity for conversation when we last met.* You could have given me informations and counsels that I wanted, but we were scarce a minute together without being broken in upon. I am to thank you, however, for the pleasure I had after our parting, in reading the new book† you gave me, which I

* At Southampton, on his way home.—ED.

† Paley's "Moral Philosophy."—W. T. F.

think generally well written and likely to do good; though the reading time of most people is of late so taken up with newspapers and little periodical pamphlets, that few now-a-days venture to attempt reading a quarto volume. I have admired to see, that, in the last century, a folio, "Burton on Melancholy," went through six editions in about forty years. We have, I believe, more readers now, but not of such large books.

You seem desirous of knowing what progress we make here in improving our governments. We are, I think, in the right road of improvement, for we are making experiments. I do not oppose all that seem wrong, for the multitude are more effectually set right by experience, than kept from going wrong by reasoning with them. And I think we are daily more and more enlightened; so that I have no doubt of our obtaining in a few years as much public felicity, as good government is capable of affording.

Your newspapers are filled with fictitious accounts of anarchy, confusion, distresses, and miseries we are supposed to be involved in, as consequences of the revolution; and the few remaining friends of the old government among us take pains to magnify every little inconvenience a change in the course of commerce may have occasioned. To obviate the complaints they endeavour to excite, was written the enclosed little piece,* from which you may form a truer idea of our situation, than your own public prints would give you. And I can assure you, that the great body of our nation find themselves happy in the change, and have not the smallest inclination to return to the domination

* Probably the piece entitled "The Retort Courteous." See *infra*, p. 348.—Ed.

of Britain. There could not be a stronger proof of the general approbation of the measures, that promoted the change, and of the change itself, than has been given by the Assembly and Council of this State, in the nearly unanimous choice for their governor, of one who had been so much concerned in those measures; the Assembly being themselves the unbribed choice of the people, and therefore may be truly supposed of the same sentiments. I say nearly unanimous, because, of between seventy and eighty votes, there were only my own and one other in the negative.

As to my domestic circumstances, of which you kindly desire to hear something, they are at present as happy as I could wish them. I am surrounded by my offspring, a dutiful and affectionate daughter in my house, with six grandchildren, the eldest of whom you have seen, who is now at College in the next street, finishing the learned part of his education; the others promising, both for parts and good dispositions. What their conduct may be, when they grow up and enter the important scenes of life, I shall not live to *see*, and I cannot *foresee*. I therefore enjoy among them the present hour, and leave the future to Providence.

He that raises a large family does, indeed, while he lives to observe them, *stand*, as Watts says, *a broader mark for sorrow;* but then he stands a broader mark for pleasure too. When we launch our little fleet of barks into the ocean, bound to different ports, we hope for each a prosperous voyage; but contrary winds, hidden shoals, storms, and enemies come in for a share in the disposition of events; and though these occasion a mixture of disappointment, yet, considering the risk where we can make no insurance, we should think ourselves happy if some return with success. My son's son, Temple Franklin, whom you have also seen,

having had a fine farm of six hundred acres conveyed to him by his father when we were at Southampton, has dropped for the present his views of acting in the political line, and applies himself ardently to the study and practice of agriculture. This is much more agreeable to me, who esteem it the most useful, the most independent, and therefore the noblest of employments. His lands are on navigable water, communicating with the Delaware, and but about sixteen miles from this city. He has associated to himself a very skilful English farmer lately arrived here, who is to instruct him in the business, and partakes for a term the profits; so that there is a great apparent probability of their success.

You will kindly expect a word or two concerning myself. My health and spirits continue, thanks to God, as when you saw me. The only complaint I then had, does not grow worse, and is tolerable. I still have enjoyment in the company of my friends; and, being easy in my circumstances, have many reasons to like living. But the course of nature must soon put a period to my present mode of existence. This I shall submit to with the less regret, as, having seen during a long life a good deal of this world, I feel a growing curiosity to be acquainted with some other; and can cheerfully, with filial confidence, resign my spirit to the conduct of that great and good Parent of mankind, who created it, and who has so graciously protected and prospered me from my birth to the present hour. Wherever I am, I hope always to retain the pleasing remembrance of your friendship, being with sincere and great esteem, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.

P.S. We all join in respects to Mrs. Shipley, and best wishes for the whole amiable family.

THE RETORT COURTEOUS.

"John Oxly, pawnbroker of Bethnal Green, was indicted for assaulting Jonathan Boldsworth on the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him one silver watch, value 5*l.* 5*s.* The prisoner pleaded, that, having sold the watch to the prosecutor, and being immediately after informed by a person who knew him, that he was not likely to pay for the same, he had only followed him and taken the watch back again. But, it appearing on the trial, that, presuming he had not been known when he committed the robbery, he had afterwards sued the prosecutor for the debt, on his note of hand, he was found guilty, *death.*"

Old Bailey Sessions Paper, 1747.

During some years past, the British newspapers have been filled with reflections on the inhabitants of America, for *not paying their old debts to English merchants.* And from these papers the same reflections have been translated into foreign prints, and circulated throughout Europe; whereby the American character, respecting honor, probity, and justice in commercial transactions, is made to suffer in the opinion of strangers, which may be attended with pernicious consequences.

At length we are told that the British court has taken up the complaint, and seriously offered it as a reason for refusing to evacuate the frontier posts according to treaty. This gives a kind of authority to the charge, and makes it now more necessary to examine the matter thoroughly; to inquire impartially into the conduct of both nations; take blame to ourselves where we have merited it; and, where it may be fairly done, mitigate the severity of the censures that are so liberally bestowed upon us.

We may begin by observing, that before the war our mercantile character was good. In proof of this (and a stronger proof can hardly be desired), the votes of the

House of Commons in 1774–5 have recorded a petition signed by the body of the merchants of London trading to North America, in which they expressly set forth, not only that the trade was profitable to the kingdom, but that the remittances and payments were as punctually and faithfully made, as in any other branch of commerce whatever. These gentlemen were certainly competent judges, and as to that point could have no interest in deceiving the government.

The making of these punctual remittances was however a difficulty. Britain, acting on the selfish and perhaps mistaken principle of receiving nothing from abroad that could be produced at home, would take no articles of our produce that interfered with any of her own; and what did not interfere, she loaded with heavy duties. We had no mines of gold or silver. We were therefore obliged to run the world over, in search of something that would be received in England. We sent our provisions and lumber to the West Indies, where exchange was made for sugars, cotton, &c. to remit. We brought molasses from thence, distilled it into rum, with which we traded in Africa, and remitted the gold dust to England. We employed ourselves in the fisheries, and sent the fish we caught, together with quantities of wheat, flour, and rice, to Spain and Portugal, from whence the amount was remitted to England in cash or bills of exchange. Great quantities of our rice, too, went to Holland, Hamburg, &c., and the value of that was also sent to Britain. Add to this, that, contenting ourselves with paper, all the hard money we could possibly pick up among the foreign West India Islands, was continually sent off to Britain, not a ship going thither from America without some chests of those precious metals.

Imagine this great machine of mutually advantageous

commerce, going roundly on, in full train; our ports all busy, receiving and selling British manufactures, and equipping ships for the circuitous trade, that was finally to procure the necessary remittances; the seas covered with those ships, and with several hundred sail of our fishermen, all working for Britain; and then let us consider what effect the conduct of Britain, in 1774 and 1775 and the following years, must naturally have on the future ability of our merchants to make the payments in question.

We will not here enter into the motives of that conduct; they are well enough known, and not to her honor. The first step was shutting up the port of Boston by an act of Parliament; the next, to prohibit by another the New England fishery. An army and a fleet were sent to enforce these acts. Here was a stop put at once to all the mercantile operations of one of the greatest trading cities of America; the fishing vessels all laid up, and the usual remittances, by way of Spain, Portugal, and the Straits, rendered impossible. Yet the cry was now begun against us, *These New England people do not pay their debts!*

The ships of the fleet employed themselves in cruising separately all along the coast. The marine gentry are seldom so well contented with their pay, as not to like a little plunder. They stopped and seized, under slight pretences, the American vessels they met with, belonging to whatever colony. This checked the commerce of them all. Ships, loaded with cargoes destined either directly or indirectly to make remittance in England, were not spared. If the differences between the two countries had been then accommodated, these unauthorized plunderers would have been called to account, and many of their exploits must have been found piracy. But what cured all this, set their

minds at ease, made short work, and gave full scope to their piratical disposition, was another act of Parliament, forbidding any inquisition into those *past* facts, declaring them all lawful, and all American property to be forfeited, whether on sea or land, and authorizing the King's British subjects to take, seize, sink, burn, or destroy, whatever they could find of it. The property suddenly, and by surprise taken from our merchants by the operation of this act, is incomputable. And yet the cry did not diminish, *These Americans don't pay their debts!*

Had the several states of America, on the publication of this act seized all British property in their power, whether consisting of lands in their country, ships in their harbours, or debts in the hands of their merchants, by way of retaliation, it is probable a great part of the world would have deemed such conduct justifiable. They, it seems, thought otherwise, and it was done only in one or two States, and that under particular circumstances of provocation. And not having thus abolished all demands, the cry subsists, that *the Americans should pay their debts!*

General Gage, being with his army (before the declaration of open war) in peaceable possession of Boston, shut its gates, and placed guards all around to prevent its communication with the country. The inhabitants were on the point of starving. The general, though they were evidently at his mercy, fearing that, while they had any arms in their hands, frantic desperation might possibly do him some mischief, proposed to them a capitulation, in which he stipulated, that if they would deliver up their arms, they might leave the town with their family and *goods*. In faith of this agreement, they delivered their arms. But when they began to pack up for their departure, they were in-

formed, that by the word *goods*, the general understood only household goods, that is, their beds, chairs, and tables, not *merchant goods;* those he was informed they were indebted for to the merchants of England, and he must secure them for the creditors. They were accordingly all seized, to an immense value, *what had been paid for not excepted.* It is to be supposed, though we have never heard of it, that this very honorable general, when he returned home, made a just distribution of those goods, or their value, among the said creditors. But the cry nevertheless continued, *These Boston people do not pay their debts!*

The army, having thus ruined Boston, proceeded to different parts of the continent. They got possession of all the capital trading towns. The troops gorged themselves with plunder. They stopped all the trade of Philadelphia for near a year, of Rhode Island longer, of New York near eight years, of Charleston in South Carolina and Savannah in Georgia, I forget how long. This continued interruption of their commerce ruined many merchants. The army also burnt to the ground the fine towns of Falmouth and Charlestown near Boston, New London, Fairfield, Norwalk, Esopus, Norfolk, the chief trading town in Virginia, besides innumerable tenements and private farm-houses. This wanton destruction of property operated doubly to the disabling of our merchants, who were importers from Britain, in making their payments, by the immoderate loss they sustained themselves, and also the loss suffered by their country debtors, who had bought of them the British goods, and who were now rendered unable to pay. The debts to Britain of course remained undischarged, and the clamour continued, *These knavish Americans will not pay us!*

Many of the British debts, particularly in Virginia and

the Carolinas, arose from the sales made of negroes in those provinces by the British Guinea merchants. These, with all before in the country, were employed when the war came on, in raising tobacco and rice for remittance in payment of British debts. An order arrives from England, advised by one of their most celebrated *moralists*, Dr. Johnson, in his "Taxation no Tyranny," to excite these slaves to rise, cut the throats of their purchasers, and resort to the British army, where they should be rewarded with freedom. This was done, and the planters were thus deprived of near thirty thousand of their working people. Yet the demand for those sold and unpaid still exists; and the cry continues against the Virginians and Carolinians, that *they do not pay their debts!*

Virginia suffered great loss in this kind of property by another ingenious and humane British invention. Having the small-pox in their army while in that country, they inoculated some of the negroes they took as prisoners belonging to a number of plantations, and then let them escape, or sent them, covered with the pock, to mix with and spread the distemper among the others of their color, as well as among the white country people; which occasioned a great mortality of both, and certainly did not contribute to the enabling debtors in making payment. The war too having put a stop to the exportation of tobacco, there was a great accumulation of several years' produce in all the public inspecting warehouses and private stores of the planters. Arnold, Phillips, and Cornwallis, with British troops, then entered and overran the country, burnt all the inspecting and other stores of tobacco, to the amount of some hundred ship-loads; all which might, on the return of peace, if it had not been thus wantonly destroyed, have

been remitted to British creditors. But *these d—d Virginians, why don't they pay their debts?*

Paper money was in those times our universal currency. But, it being the instrument with which we combated our enemies, they resolved to deprive us of its use by depreciating it; and the most effectual means they could contrive was to counterfeit it. The artists they employed performed so well, that immense quantities of these counterfeits, which issued from the British government in New York, were circulated among the inhabitants of all the States, before the fraud was detected. This operated considerably in depreciating the whole mass, first, by the vast additional quantity, and next by the uncertainty in distinguishing the true from the false; and the depreciation was a loss to all and the ruin of many. It is true our enemies gained a vast deal of our property by the operation; but it did not go into the hands of our particular creditors; so their demands still subsisted, and we were still abused *for not paying our debts!*

By the seventh article of the treaty of peace, it was solemnly stipulated, that the King's troops, in evacuating their posts in the United States, should not carry away with them any negroes. In direct violation of this article, General Carleton, in evacuating New York, carried off all the negroes that were with his army, to the amount of several hundreds. It is not doubted that he must have had secret orders to justify him in this transaction; but the reason given out was, that, as they had quitted their masters and joined the King's troops on the faith of proclamations promising them their liberty, the national honor forbade returning them into slavery. The national honor was, it seemed, pledged to both parts of a contradiction,

and its wisdom, since it could not do it with both, chose to keep faith rather with its old black, than its new white friends; a circumstance demonstrating clear as daylight, that, in making a present peace, they meditated a future war, and hoped, that, though the promised manumission of slaves had not been effectual in the *last*, in the *next* it might be more successful; and that, had the negroes been forsaken, no aid could be hereafter expected from those of the color in a future invasion. The treaty however with us was thus broken almost as soon as made, and this by the people who charge us with breaking it by not paying perhaps for some of the very negroes carried off in defiance of it. Why should England observe treaties, *when these Americans do not pay their debts?*

Unreasonable, however, as this clamor appears in general, I do not pretend, by exposing it, to justify those debtors who are still able to pay, and refuse it on pretence of injuries suffered by the war. Public injuries can never discharge private obligations. Contracts between merchant and merchant should be sacredly observed, where the ability remains, whatever may be the madness of ministers. It is therefore to be hoped the fourth article of the treaty of peace, which stipulates, *that no legal obstruction shall be given to the payment of debts contracted before the war*, will be punctually carried into execution, and that every law in every State which impedes it, may be immediately repealed. Those laws were indeed made with honest intentions, that the half-ruined debtor, not being too suddenly pressed by *some*, might have time to arrange and recover his affairs so as to do justice to *all* his creditors. But, since the intention in making those acts has been misapprehended, and the acts wilfully misconstrued into a design of defrauding

them, and now made a matter of reproach to us, I think it will be right to repeal them all. Individual Americans may be ruined, but the country will save by the operation; since these unthinking, merciless creditors must be contented with all that is to be had, instead of all that may be due to them, and the accounts will be settled by insolvency. When all have paid that can pay, I think the remaining British creditors, who suffered by the inability of their ruined debtors, have some right to call upon their own government (which by its bad projects has ruined those debtors) for a compensation. A sum given by Parliament for this purpose would be more properly disposed, than in rewarding pretended loyalists, who fomented the war. And, the heavier the sum, the more tendency it might have to discourage such destructive projects hereafter.

Among the merchants of Britain, trading formerly to America, there are to my knowledge many considerate and generous men, who never joined in this clamor, and who, on the return of peace, though by the treaty entitled to an immediate suit for their debts, were kindly disposed to give their debtors reasonable time for restoring their circumstances, so as to be able to make payment conveniently. These deserve the most grateful acknowledgments. And indeed it was in their favor, and perhaps for their sakes in favor of all other British creditors, that the law of Pennsylvania, though since much exclaimed against, was made, restraining the recovery of old debts during a certain time. For this restraint was general, respecting domestic as well as British debts, it being thought unfair, in cases where there was not sufficient for all, that the inhabitants, taking advantage of their nearer situation, should swallow the whole, excluding foreign creditors from any share. And

in cases where the favorable part of the foreign creditors were disposed to give time, with the views abovementioned, if others less humane and considerate were allowed to bring immediate suits and ruin the debtor, those views would be defeated. When this law expired in September, 1784, a new one was made, continuing for some time longer the restraint with respect to domestic debts, but expressly taking it away where the debt was due from citizens of the State to any of the subjects of Great Britain; which shows clearly the disposition of the Assembly, and that the fair intentions above ascribed to them in making the former act, are not merely the imagination of the writer.

Indeed, the clamor has been much augmented by numbers joining it, who really had no claim on our country. Every debtor in Britain, engaged in whatever trade, when he had no better excuse to give for delay of payment, accused the want of returns from America. And the indignation, thus excited against us, now appears so general among the English, that one would imagine their nation, which is so exact in expecting punctual payment from all the rest of the world, must be at home the model of justice, the very pattern of punctuality. Yet, if one were disposed to recriminate, it would not be difficult to find sufficient matter in several parts of their conduct. But this I forbear. The two separate nations are now at peace, and there can be no use in mutual provocations to fresh enmity. If I have shown clearly that the present inability of many American merchants to discharge their debts, contracted before the war, is not so much their fault, as the fault of the crediting nation, who, by making an unjust war on them, obstructing their commerce, plundering and devas-

tating their country, were the cause of that inability, I have answered the purpose of writing this paper. How far the refusal of the British court to execute the treaty in delivering up the frontier posts, may, on account of that deficiency of payment, be justifiable, is cheerfully submitted to the world's impartial judgment.

To M. Le Veillard, of Passy, dated Philadelphia, 6 March, 1786.

I received and read with great pleasure your kind letter of October 9th. It informed me of your welfare, and that of the best of good women, and of her amiable daughter, who I think will tread in her steps. My effects came all in the same ship, in good order; and we are now drinking every day *les eaux épurées de Passy* with great satisfaction, as they kept well, and seem to be rendered more agreeable by the long voyage.

I am here in the bosom of my family, and am not only happy myself, but have the felicity of seeing my country so. Be assured, that all the stories spread in the English papers of our distresses, and confusions, and discontents with our new governments, are as chimerical as the history of my being in chains at Algiers. They exist only in the wishes of our enemies. America never was in higher prosperity; her produce abundant and bearing a good price, her working people all employed and well paid, and all property in lands and houses of more than treble the value it bore before the war; and, our commerce being no longer the monopoly of British merchants, we are furnished with all the foreign commodities we need, at much more reasonable rates than heretofore. So that we have no doubt of being able to discharge more speedily the debt incurred by the war, than at first was apprehended.

Our modes of collecting taxes are indeed as yet imperfect, and we have need of more skill in financiering; but we improve in that kind of knowledge daily by experience. That our people are contented with the revolution, with their new constitutions, and their foreign connexions, nothing can afford a stronger proof, than the universally cordial and joyous reception with which they welcomed the return of one, that was supposed to have had a considerable share in promoting them. All this is in answer to that part of your letter, in which you seem to have been too much impressed with some of the ideas, which those lying English papers endeavour to inculcate concerning us.

I am astonished by what you write concerning the *Prince Evêque*. If the charges against him are made good, it will be another instance of the truth of those proverbs which teach us, that *Prodigality begets necessity*, that *Without œconomy no revenue is sufficient*, and that *It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*

I am glad to hear of the marriage of Mademoiselle Brillon; for every thing, that may contribute to the happiness of that beloved family, gives me pleasure. Be pleased to offer them my felicitations, and assure them of my best wishes.

Will you also be so good as to present my respectful compliments to Madame la Duchesse d'Enville, and to M. le Duc de la Rochefoucauld? You may communicate the political part of this letter to that excellent man. His good heart will rejoice to hear of the welfare of America.

I made no progress when at sea in the history you mention;* but I was not idle there, having written three pieces, each of some length; one on Nautical matters; another on

* Memoirs of his own life.—ED.

Chimneys; and a third a Description of my Vase for consuming smoke, with directions for using it. These are all now printing in the Transactions of our Philosophical Society, of which I hope soon to send you a copy.

My grandsons present their compliments. The eldest is very busy in preparing for a country life, being to enter upon his farm the 25th instant. It consists of about six hundred acres, bounding on navigable water, sixteen miles from Philadelphia. The youngest is at College, very diligent in his studies. You know my situation, involved in public cares; but they cannot make me forget, that you and I love one another, and that I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.

To Benjamin Rush, dated Philadelphia, March, 1786.

During our long acquaintance, you have shown many instances of your regard for me; yet I must now desire you to add one more to the number, which is, that, if you publish your ingenious discourse on the "Moral Sense," you will totally omit and suppress that most extravagant encomium on your friend Franklin, which hurt me exceedingly in the unexpected hearing, and will mortify me beyond conception, if it should appear from the press. Confiding in your compliance with this earnest request, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.*

* Dr. Rush replied to this letter as follows. "Agreeably to your request, I have suppressed the conclusion of my oration, but I cannot bear to think of sending it out of our State or to Europe without connecting it with your name. I have therefore taken the liberty of inscribing it to you by a simple dedication, of which the enclosed is a copy. And, as you have never in the course of our long acquaintance refused *me* a single favor, I must earnestly insist upon your adding to my great and numerous obligations

To Mrs. Mary Hewson, dated Philadelphia, 6 May, 1786.

A long winter has past, and I have not had the pleasure of a line from you, acquainting me with your and your children's welfare, since I left England. I suppose you have been in Yorkshire, out of the way and knowledge of opportunities; for I will not think that you have forgotten me.

To make me some amends, I received a few days past a large packet from Mr. Williams, dated September, 1776, near ten years since, containing three letters from you, one of December 12th, 1775. This packet had been received by Mr. Bache, after my departure for France, lay dormant among his papers during all my absence, and has just now broke out upon me, *like words*, that had been, as somebody says, *congealed in northern air.* Therein I find all the pleasing little family history of your children; how William had begun to spell, overcoming, by strength of memory, all the difficulty occasioned by the common wretched alphabet, while you were convinced of the utility of our new one; how Tom, genius-like, struck out new paths, and, relinquishing the old names of the letters, called U *bell*, and P *bottle;* how Eliza began to grow jolly, that is, fat and handsome, resembling aunt Rooke, whom I used to call *my lovely.* Together with all the *then* news of lady Blount's having produced at length a boy; of Dolly's being well, and of poor good Catherine's decease; of your affairs with Muir and Atkinson, and of their contract for feeding the fish in

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to you the permission, which I now solicit, to send my *last* as I did my *first* publication into the world under the patronage of your name."—*March 11th*, 1786.

The discourse here alluded to, "On the Influence of Physical Causes on the Moral Faculty," was delivered before the American Philosophical Society, February 27th, 1786, and published soon afterwards.—S.

the channel; of the Vinys and their jaunt to Cambridge in the long carriage; of Dolly's journey to Wales with Mrs. Scott; of the Wilkeses, the Pearces, Elphinstones, &c.;— concluding with a kind of promise, that, as soon as the ministry and Congress agreed to make peace, I should have you with me in America. That peace has been some time made; but, alas! the promise is not yet fulfilled.

I have found my family here in health, good circumstances, and well respected by their fellow citizens. The companions of my youth are indeed almost all departed, but I find an agreeable society among their children and grandchildren. I have public business enough to preserve me from *ennui*, and private amusement besides in conversation, books, my garden, and *cribbage*. Considering our well-furnished, plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine, in the midst of which my house stands, into grass plots and gravel walks, with trees and flowering shrubs. Cards we sometimes play here, in long winter evenings; but it is as they play at chess, not for money, but for honor, or the pleasure of beating one another. This will not be quite a novelty to you, as you may remember we played together in that manner during the winter at Passy. I have indeed now and then a little compunction in reflecting that I spend time so idly; but another reflection comes to relieve me, whispering, "*You know that the soul is immortal; why then should you be such a niggard of a little time, when you have a whole eternity before you?*" So, being easily convinced, and, like other reasonable creatures, satisfied with a small reason, when it is in favor of doing what I have a mind to, I shuffle the cards again, and begin another game.

As to public amusements, we have neither plays nor

operas, but we had yesterday a kind of oratorio, as you will see by the enclosed paper; and we have assemblies, balls, and concerts, besides little parties at one another's houses, in which there is sometimes dancing, and frequently good music; so that we jog on in life as pleasantly as you do in England; anywhere but in London, for there you have plays performed by good actors. That, however, is, I think, the only advantage London has over Philadelphia.

Temple has turned his thoughts to agriculture, which he pursues ardently, being in possession of a fine farm, that his father lately conveyed to him. Ben is finishing his studies at college, and continues to behave as well as when you knew him, so that I think he will make you a good son. His younger brothers and sisters are also promising, appearing to have good tempers and dispositions, as well as good constitutions. As to myself, I think my general health and spirits rather better than when you saw me. The particular malady I then complained of continues tolerable.

To Mrs. Jane Mecom, dated Philadelphia, 4 July, 1786.

You need not be concerned, in writing to me, about your bad spelling; for, in my opinion, as our alphabet now stands, the bad spelling, or what is called so, is generally the best, as conforming to the sound of the letters and of the words. To give you an instance. A gentleman received a letter, in which were these words,—*Not finding Brown at hom, I delivered your meseg to his yf.* The gentleman finding it bad spelling, and therefore not very intelligible, called his lady to help him read it. Between them they picked out the meaning of all but the *yf*, which they could not understand. The lady proposed calling her chambermaid, be-

cause Betty, says she, has the best knack at reading bad spelling of any one I know. Betty came, and was surprised, that neither Sir nor Madam could tell what *yf* was. "Why," says she, "*y f* spells *wife;* what else can it spell?" And, indeed, it is a much better, as well as shorter method of spelling *wife*, than *doubleyou, i, ef, e*, which in reality spell *doubleyifey*.

There is much rejoicing in town to-day, it being the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which we signed this day ten years, and thereby hazarded lives and fortunes. God was pleased to put a favorable end to the contest much sooner than we had reason to expect. His name be praised.

To Thomas Paine* [date uncertain]. I have read your manuscript with some attention. By the argument it contains against a particular Providence, though you allow a general Providence, you strike at the foundations of all religion. For without the belief of a Providence, that takes cognizance of, guards, and guides, and may favor particular persons, there is no motive to worship a Deity, to fear his displeasure, or to pray for his protection. I will not enter into any discussion of your principles, though you seem to desire it. At present, I shall only give you my opinion, that, though your reasonings are subtile, and may prevail with some readers, you will not succeed so as to change the general sentiments of mankind on that subject, and the consequence of printing this piece will be, a great deal of odium drawn upon yourself, mischief to you, and no benefit to

* This letter was first published by William Temple Franklin, but without the name of the person to whom it was directed. Mr. Sparks supposes it was addressed to Paine.—ED.

others. He that spits against the wind, spits in his own face.

But, were you to succeed, do you imagine any good would be done by it? You yourself may find it easy to live a virtuous life, without the assistance afforded by religion; you having a clear perception of the advantages of virtue, and the disadvantages of vice, and possessing a strength of resolution sufficient to enable you to resist common temptations. But think how great a portion of mankind consists of weak and ignorant men and women, and of inexperienced, inconsiderate youth of both sexes, who have need of the motives of religion to restrain them from vice, to support their virtue, and retain them in the practice of it till it becomes *habitual*, which is the great point for its security. And perhaps you are indebted to her originally, that is, to your religious education, for the habits of virtue upon which you now justly value yourself. You might easily display your excellent talents of reasoning upon a less hazardous subject, and thereby obtain a rank with our most distinguished authors. For among us it is not necessary, as among the Hottentots, that a youth, to be raised into the company of men, should prove his manhood by beating his mother.

I would advise you, therefore, not to attempt unchaining the tiger, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person; whereby you will save yourself a great deal of mortification by the enemies it may raise against you, and perhaps a good deal of regret and repentance. If men are so wicked *with religion*, what would they be *if without it?* I intend this letter itself as a *proof* of my friendship, and therefore add no *professions* to it; but subscribe simply yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

To Alexander Small, dated Philadelphia, 19 Feb., 1787.

What you have heard of my malady is true, "that it does not grow worse." Thanks be to God, I still enjoy pleasure in the society of my friends and books, and much more in the prosperity of my country, concerning which your people are continually deceiving themselves.

I am glad the improvement of the Book of Common Prayer* has met with your approbation, and that of good Mrs. Baldwin. It is not yet, that I know of, received in public practice anywhere; but, as it is said that good motions never die, perhaps in time it may be found useful.

I read with pleasure the account you gave of the flourishing state of your commerce and manufactures, and of the plenty you have of resources to carry the nation through all its difficulties. You have one of the finest countries in the world, and, if you can be cured of the folly of making war for trade, (in which wars more has been always expended than the profits of any trade can compensate,) you may make it one of the happiest. Make the best of your own natural advantages, instead of endeavouring to diminish those of other nations, and there is no doubt but that you may yet prosper and flourish. Your beginning to consider France no longer as a natural enemy, is a mark of progress in the good sense of the nation, of which posterity will find the benefit, in the rarity of wars, the diminution of taxes, and increase of riches.

As to the refugees, whom you think we were so impolitic in rejecting, I do not find that they are missed here, or that anybody regrets their absence. And certainly they must be happier where they are, under the government

* See the letter to Granville Sharp, *supra*, p. 319.—ED.

they admire; and be better received among a people, whose cause they espoused and fought for, than among those who cannot so soon have forgotten the destruction of their habitations, and the spilt blood of their dearest friends and near relations.

I often think with great pleasure on the happy days I passed in England with my and your learned and ingenious friends, who have left us to join the majority in the world of spirits. Every one of them now knows more than all of us they have left behind. It is to me a comfortable reflection, that, since we must live for ever in a future state, there is a sufficient stock of amusement in reserve for us, to be found in constantly learning something new to eternity, the present quantity of human ignorance infinitely exceeding that of human knowledge. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me, in whatever world, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN,
in his eighty-second year.

To M. Le Veillard, dated Philadelphia, 15 April, 1787.

I have received a number of letters from you, which gave me great pleasure, tho' I have not regularly answered. When you shall consider the situation of a man who had been many years absent from home, the multiplicity of private affairs he must consequently have to settle, the public business of a great government to be attended to, and this under the frequent teasing of a painful disease, you will probably make some charitable allowance for his delay in writing to his friends, and not charge it all as the effect of forgetfulness and want of affection.

I now have all your letters of the last year before me, and shall go thro' them in order. That of March 25,

announced a M. de la Villele, nephew of the late Madame de la Frété, as intending a voyage hither, but he has not yet appeared in these parts. If he arrives while I live, he will be paid every attention and civility in my power to show him.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken in selling my forte piano and dividing the money as I desired.

The Lodge of the Nine Sisters have done me too much honor in proposing the prize you mention.

As to the little history I promis'd you, my purpose still continues of compleating it, and I hoped to do it this summer, having built an addition to my house, in which I have plac'd my library, and where I can write without being disturb'd by the noise of the children, but the General Assembly having lately desired my assistance in a great convention to be held here in May next for amending the Federal Constitution, I begin to doubt whether I can make any progress in it till that business is over.

Yours of the 23d of May did not arrive here till the 5th of October, and this is not the only instance of the long time letters are delayed in your seaports. It is true that we had, as you mention, two parties in this State—one for preserving the Constitution as it is, and the other for adding an Upper House as a check to the Assembly. But having try'd it seven years, the strongest party was for continuing it, and since my arrival no obstruction has happened in public business, such as you had been informed of, by the seceding of one party from the Assembly. Having served one year as President of Council, I had not resolution enough to refuse serving another, and was again chosen in November last, without a single dissenting voice

but my own. By our laws one cannot serve more than three years, but I think I shall decline the third.

I am quite of your opinion that our independence is not quite compleat till we have discharg'd our public debt. This State is not behindhand in its proportion, and those who are in arrear are actually employed in contriving means to discharge their respective ballances, but they are not all equally diligent in the business, nor equally successful; the whole will, however, be paid, I am persuaded, in a few years.

The English have not yet delivered up the posts on our frontiers, agreeable to treaty; the pretence is that our merchants have not paid their debts. I was a little provok'd when I first heard this, and I wrote some remarks upon it which I send you. They have been written near a year, but I have not yet published them, being unwilling to encourage any of our people who may be able to pay in their neglect of that duty. This paper, therefore, is only for your amusement and that of our excellent friend, the Duke de Rochefoucauld.*

You blame me for writing three pamphlets and neglecting to write the little history; you should consider they were written at sea, out of my own head; the other could not so well be written there, for want of the documents that could only be had here.

As to my malady, concerning which you so kindly inquire, I have never had the least doubt of its being the stone. I am sensible that it is grown heavier; but on the whole it does not give me more pain than when at Passy, and except

* The following was written in the margin: "This omitted at present for want of time to copy it."—ED.

in standing, walking or making water, I am very little incommoded by it. Sitting or lying in bed I am generally quite easy, God be thanked; and as I live temperately, drink no wine, and use daily the exercise of the dumb-bell, I flatter myself that the stone is kept from augmenting so much as it might otherwise do, and that I may still continue to find it tolerable. People who live long, who will drink of the cup of life to the very bottom, must expect to meet with some of the usual dregs, and when I reflect on the number of terrible maladies human nature is subject to, I think myself favored in having to my share only the stone and the gout.

In yours of August 21st, you mention your having written the 21st and 29th of June, which letters were in a paquet, with one from the Duke de Rochefoucauld, two from M. and Mad. Brillon, etc. I have not been so happy as to receive these letters; they never came to hand.

You were right in conjecturing that I wrote the remarks on the "Thoughts concerning Executive Justice." I have no copy of those remarks at hand, and forget how the saying was introduced that it was better 1000 guilty persons should escape than one innocent suffer. Your criticisms thereon appear to be just, and I imagine you may have misapprehended my intention in mentioning it. I always thought, with you, that the prejudice in Europe which supposes a family dishonored by the punishment of one of its members, was very absurd, it being, on the contrary, my opinion that a rogue hanged out of a family does it more honor than ten that live in it.

What you mention of our paper money, if you mean that of this State, Pensilvania, is not well understood. It was made before my arrival, and not being a legal tender can

do no injustice to anybody, nor does any one here complain of it, tho' many are justly averse to an increase of the quantity at this time, there being a great deal of real money in the country, and one bank in good credit. I have myself purchased ten *actions* in it, which, at least, shows my good opinion of it.

Besides the addition to my house, mentioned above, I have been building two new houses on my front, next the street. They are of brick, and each 24 feet wide by 45 deep, and three stories high. The affairs in dealing with so many workmen and furnishers of materials, such as bricklayers, carpenters, stone-cutters, painters, glaziers, lime-burners, timber-merchants, copper-smiths, carters, laborers, etc., etc., have added not a little to the fatiguing business I have gone through in the last year, as mentioned above, and strengthen in some degree my apology for being so bad a correspondent.

Mr. Brabanzon has requested me to send him some seeds in time to plant this spring, but his letter came to hand too late. They will be got the ensuing autumn and sent, so as to be ready for planting next year.

Temple and Benjamin will write to you. This letter goes by Mr. Paine, one of our principal writers at the Revolution, being the author of "Common Sense," a pamphlet that had prodigious effects.

He does not speak French, or I should recommend him to your civilities, as I do to those of our friend, the good Duke.

The last letter I have had the pleasure of receiving from you is that of Nov. 19, 1786. I cannot give you a better idea of my present happiness in my family than in telling you that my daughter has all the virtues of a certain good

lady that you allow me to love; the same tender affections and intentions, ingenuity, industry, economy, &c., &c., &c. Embrace that good dame for me very warmly, and the amiable daughter. My best wishes attend the whole family, whom I shall never cease to love while I am

B. FRANKLIN.

To the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, dated Philadelphia, 15 April, 1787.

Your friendly congratulations on my arrival and reception here were very obliging. The latter was, as you have heard, extremely flattering. The two parties in the Assembly and Council, the constitutionists and anti-constitutionists, joined in requesting my service as counsellor, and afterwards in electing me as President. Of seventy-four members in Council and Assembly, who voted by ballot, there was in my first election but one negative, besides my own; and in the second, after a year's service, only my own. And I experience, from all the principal people in the government, every attention and assistance that can be desired towards making the task as little burdensome to me as possible. So I am going on very comfortably hitherto with my second year, and I do not at present see any likelihood of a change; but future events are always uncertain, being governed by Providence or subject to chances; and popular favor is very precarious, being sometimes *lost* as well as *gained* by good actions; so I do not depend on a continuance of my present happiness, and therefore shall not be surprised, if, before my time of service expires, something should happen to diminish it.

These States in general enjoy peace and plenty. There have been some disorders in the Massachusetts and Rhode Island governments; those in the former are quelled for the

present; those of the latter, being contentions for and against paper money, will probably continue some time. Maryland too is divided on the same subject, the Assembly being for it, and the Senate against it. Each is now employed in endeavouring to gain the people to its party against the next elections, and it is probable the Assembly may prevail. Paper money in moderate quantities has been found beneficial; when more than the occasions of commerce require, it depreciated and was mischievous; and the populace are apt to demand more than is necessary. In this State we have some, and it is useful, and I do not hear any clamor for more.

There seems to be but little thought at present in the particular States, of mending their particular constitutions; but the grand Federal Constitution is generally blamed as not having given sufficient powers to Congress, the federal head. A convention is therefore appointed to revise that constitution, and propose a better. You will see by the enclosed paper, that your friend is to be one in that business, though he doubts his malady may not permit his giving constant attendance. I am glad to see, that you are named as one of a General Assembly to be convened in France. I flatter myself, that great good may accrue to that dear nation from the deliberations of such an assembly. I pray God to give it his blessing.

I sympathize with you and the family most sincerely, in the great loss sustained by the decease of that excellent woman.* It must be indeed a heavy one. My best wishes attend those that remain, and that the happiness of your

* The Duchess d'Enville, mother of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld.—W. T. F.

sweet domestic society may long continue without such another interruption.

I send herewith a volume of the Transactions of our Philosophical Society for you, another for M. de Condorcet, and a third for the Academy. The war had interrupted our attempts to improve ourselves in scientific matters, but we now begin to resume them.

The bearer of this is Mr. Paine, the author of a famous piece, entitled "Common Sense," published here with great effect on the minds of the people at the beginning of the Revolution. He is an ingenious, honest man; and as such I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities. He carries with him the model of a bridge of a new construction, his own invention, concerning which I intended to have recommended him to M. Peyronnet, but I hear he is no more. You can easily procure Mr. Paine a sight of the models and drawings of the collection appertaining to the *Ponts et Chaussées;* they must afford him useful lights on the subject. We want a bridge over our river Schuylkill, and have no artist here regularly bred to that kind of architecture.

My grandsons are very sensible of the honor of your remembrance, and desire me to present their respects.

To the Marquis de Chastellux, dated Philadelphia, 17 April, 1787.

Your most pleasing letter, accompanied by the invaluable present of your Journal,* and translation of Colonel Humphreys's poem, came to hand but lately, though dated in June last. I believe they have been in the West Indies. They have given me a great deal of pleasure in the perusal, as

* Journal of Travels in America.—ED.

every thing of yours always did. The portrait you have made of our country and people is what in painting is called *a handsome likeness*, for which we are much obliged to you. We shall be the better for it, if we endeavour to merit what you kindly say in our favor, and to correct what you justly censure. I am told the Journal is translated into English, and printed in one of the States, I know not which, not having seen the translation.

The newspapers tell us, that you are about to have an Assembly of Notables, to consult on improvements of your government. It is somewhat singular, that we should be engaged in the same project here at the same time; but so it is, and a convention for the purpose of revising and amending our federal constitution is to meet at this place next month. I hope both assemblies will be blessed with success, and that their deliberations and counsels may promote the happiness of both nations.

In the State of Pennsylvania, government, notwithstanding our parties, goes on at present very smoothly, so that I have much less trouble in my station than was expected. Massachusetts has lately been disturbed by some disorderly people; but they are now quelled. The rest of the States go on pretty well, except some dissensions in Rhode Island and Maryland respecting paper money. Mr. Paine, whom you know, and who undertakes to deliver this letter to you, can give you full information of our affairs, and therefore I need not enlarge upon them. I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities. I have fulfilled all your commissions to the ladies here, who are much flattered by your kind remembrance of them.

CHAPTER XI.

Freedom of Commerce—Herschel and his Discoveries—Folly of War—Picture of Franklin during the Session of the Convention to frame a New Constitution—Speech in Favor of opening the Convention daily with Prayer—Speech against allowing Salaries to Executive Officers—Advises the Adoption of the Constitution.

To the Abbé Morellet, dated Philadelphia, 22 April, 1787.

I RECEIVED, though long after they were written, your very agreeable favors of October 30th, 1785, and February 9th, 1786,* with the pieces enclosed, productions of the Auteuil† *Academy of Belles Lettres.* Your kind and friendly wishes and congratulations are extremely obliging. It gives me an infinite pleasure to find, that I still retain a favorable place in the remembrance of the worthy and the good, whose delightful and instructive society I had the happiness of enjoying while I resided in France.

But, though I could not leave that dear nation without regret, I certainly did right in coming home. I am here in my *niche* in my own house, in the bosom of my family, my daughter and grandchildren all about me, among my

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* See "Mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet," Tom. I. p. 298.—ED.

† The residence of Madame Helvetius, with whom the Abbé Morellet, Cabanis, La Roche, and other literary friends passed much of their time.—W. T. F.

old friends, or the sons of my friends, who equally respect me; and who all speak and understand the same language with me; and you know, that, if a man desires to be useful by the exercise of his mental faculties, he loses half their force when in a foreign country, where he can only express himself in a language with which he is not well acquainted. In short, I enjoy here every opportunity of doing good, and every thing else I could wish for, except repose; and that I may soon expect, either by the cessation of my office, which cannot last more than three years, or by ceasing to live.

I am of the same opinion with you, respecting the freedom of commerce, especially in countries where direct taxes are practicable. This will be our case in time, when our wide-extended country fills up with inhabitants. But at present they are so widely settled, often five or six miles distant from one another in the back country, that the collection of a direct tax is almost impossible, the trouble of the collectors' going from house to house amounting to more than the value of the tax. Nothing can be better expressed than your sentiments are on this point, where you prefer liberty of trading, cultivating, manufacturing, &c., even to civil liberty, this being affected but rarely, the other every hour. Our debt occasioned by the war being heavy, we are under the necessity of using imposts, and every method we can think of, to assist in raising a revenue to discharge it; but in sentiment we are well disposed to abolish duties on importation, as soon as we possibly can afford to do so.

Whatever may be reported by the English in Europe, you may be assured, that our people are almost unanimous in being satified with the Revolution. Their unbounded re-

spect for all who were principally concerned in it, whether as warriors or statesmen, and the enthusiastic joy with which the day of the declaration of independence is everywhere annually celebrated, are indubitable proofs of this truth. In one or two of the States there have been some discontents on partial and local subjects; these may have been fomented, as the accounts of them are exaggerated, by our ancient enemies; but they are now nearly suppressed, and the rest of the States enjoy peace and good order, and flourish amazingly. The crops have been good for several years past, the price of country produce high, from foreign demand, and it fetches ready money; rents are high in our towns, which increase fast by new buildings; laborers and artisans have high wages well paid, and vast tracts of new land are continually clearing and rendered fit for cultivation.

The pains you have taken to translate the congratulatory addresses, which I received on my arrival, is a fresh proof of the continuance of your friendship for me, which has afforded me as much satisfaction as the addresses themselves, and you will readily believe, that for me this is not saying little; for this welcome of my fellow citizens has far surpassed my hopes. Popular favor, not the most constant thing in the world, stands by me. My election to the presidency for the second year was unanimous. Will this disposition continue the same for the third? Nothing is more doubtful. A man, who holds a high office, finds himself so often exposed to the danger of disobliging some one in the fulfilment of his duty, that the resentment of those, whom he has thus offended, being greater than the gratitude of those whom he has served, it almost always happens, that, while he is violently attacked, he is feebly

defended. You will not be surprised, then, if you learn, that I have not closed my political career with the same *éclat*, with which it commenced.

I am sorry for what you tell me of the indisposition you have experienced. I sometimes wonder, that Providence does not protect the good from all evil and from every suffering. This should be so in the best of worlds; and, since it is not so, I am piously led to believe, that, if our world is not indeed the best, we must lay the blame on the bad quality of the materials of which it is made. I am, my dear friend, with sincere esteem and affection, ever yours.

To Thomas Jordan, London, dated Philadelphia, 18 May, 1787.

I received your very kind letter of February 27th, together with the cask of porter you have been so good as to send me. We have here at present what the French call *une assemblée des notables*, a convention composed of some of the principal people from the several States of our confederation. They did me the honor of dining with me last Wednesday, when the cask was broached, and its contents met with the most cordial reception and universal approbation. In short, the company agreed unanimously, that it was the best porter they had ever tasted. Accept my thanks, a poor return, but all I can make at present.

Your letter reminds me of many happy days we have passed together, and the dear friends with whom we passed them; some of whom, alas! have left us, and we must regret their loss, although our Hawkesworth is become an *Adventurer* in more happy regions; and our Stanley* gone,

* John Stanley, an eminent musician and composer, became blind at the age of two years.—W. T. F.

"where only his own *harmony* can be exceeded." You give me joy in telling me, that you are "on the pinnacle of *content.*" Without it no situation can be happy; with it, any. One means of becoming content with one's situation is the comparing it with a worse. Thus, when I consider how many terrible diseases the human body is liable to, I comfort myself, that only three incurable ones have fallen to my share, viz. the gout, the stone, and old age; and that these have not yet deprived me of my natural cheerfulness, my delight in books, and enjoyment of social conversation.

I am glad to hear, that Mr. Fitzmaurice is married, and has an amiable lady and children. It is a better plan than that he once proposed, of getting Mrs. Wright to make him a wax-work wife to sit at the head of his table. For after all, wedlock is the natural state of man. A bachelor is not a complete human being. He is like the odd half of a pair of scissors, which has not yet found its fellow, and therefore is not even half so useful as they might be together.

I hardly know which to admire most; the wonderful discoveries made by Herschel, or the indefatigable ingenuity by which he has been enabled to make them. Let us hope, my friend, that, when free from these bodily embarrassments, we may roam together through some of the systems he has explored, conducted by some of our old companions already acquainted with them. Hawkesworth will enliven our progress with his cheerful, sensible converse, and Stanley accompany the music of the spheres.

Mr. Watmaugh tells me, for I immediately inquired after her, that your daughter is alive and well. I remember her a most promising and beautiful child, and therefore do not

wonder, that she is grown, as he says, a fine woman. God bless her and you, my dear friend, and every thing that pertains to you, is the sincere prayer of yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN,
in his eighty-second year.

To George Whatley, dated Philadelphia, 18 May, 1787.

* * * You are now seventy-eight, and I am eighty-two; you tread fast upon my heels; but, though you have more strength and spirit, you cannot come up with me till I stop, which must now be soon; for I am grown so old as to have buried most of the friends of my youth, and I now often hear persons whom I knew when children, called *old* Mr. such-a-one, to distinguish them from their sons now men grown and in business; so that, by living twelve years beyond David's period, I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity, when I ought to have been abed and asleep. Yet, had I gone at seventy, it would have cut off twelve of the most active years of my life, employed too in matters of the greatest importance; but whether I have been doing good or mischief is for time to discover. I only know that I intended well, and I hope all will end well.

Be so good as to present my affectionate respects to Dr. Riley. I am under great obligations to him, and shall write to him shortly. It will be a pleasure to him to know, that my malady does not grow sensibly worse, and that is a great point; for it has always been so tolerable, as not to prevent my enjoying the pleasures of society, and being cheerful in conversation. I owe this in a great measure to his good counsels.

To Mrs. Jane Mecom, dated Philadelphia, 20 Sept., 1787.

The Convention finished the 17th instant. I attended the business of it five hours in every day from the beginning, which is something more than four months. You may judge from thence, that my health continues; some tell me I look better, and they suppose the daily exercise of going and returning from the Statehouse has done me good. You will see the Constitution we have proposed in the papers. The forming of it so as to accommodate all the different interests and views was a difficult task; and perhaps, after all, it may not be received with the same unanimity in the different States, that the Convention have given the example of in delivering it out for their consideration. We have, however, done our best, and it must take its chance.*

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* The imperfections of the Articles of Confederation under which our young republic was first organized, were so numerous and manifest, that, as early as 1780, Alexander Hamilton had proposed that a Convention should be called to make a new Constitution. It took six years, however, for this idea to ripen. Finally a convention of delegates from the different States was called for the second Monday of May, 1787. Of this Convention Franklin was a member, and General Washington its President. The fruit of its deliberations was the Constitution under which the United States have thriven beyond the dreams of its most sanguine authors, for nearly a century. It is to Franklin's labors on this Constitution, the importance of which can never be overestimated, that he refers in this letter to his sister.

As the sessions of the Convention were held with closed doors, all we know of its daily deliberations is what has been preserved by its members. The speeches which follow in the text were copied by Mr. Madison from Franklin's manuscript.

The first two months of the session were almost entirely spent in tedious, and sometimes acrimonious, debates about the terms upon which the small States like Delaware and Rhode Island should be associated with the larger States like New York. The smaller States naturally feared that they would be oppressed by the larger, and the larger as naturally resented the injustice of a distribution of representative power so disproportioned to population. It was when the chances of agreement upon this point were, or seemed to be, at their minimum, that Franklin moved that thenceforth their delibera-

I agree with you perfectly in your disapprobation of war. Abstracted from the inhumanity of it, I think it wrong in

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tions should daily commence with an invocation of the assistance and blessing of Heaven upon them. This motion being nearly unanimously rejected, the struggle went on, becoming daily more and more bitter and threatening. It was in this extremity that Dr. Franklin proposed the compromise which is, perhaps, the most ingenious novelty in the American Constitution, and which, it was generally conceded, saved the Union,—that all States should be equally represented in the upper house, and according to their population in the lower house, where all money bills were to originate.

It is a curious coincidence that the policy of committing the legislative power of the country to two separate houses, which Dr. Franklin always opposed, should, through his rare political genius, have become the one feature of the American Constitution which has more successfully than perhaps any other stood the test of nearly a century's experience.

Franklin also supported an article fixing the term of the Presidency at seven years, but making the incumbent ineligible for a second term. He opposed vigorously a proposal to limit the suffrage to freeholders, as tending to lower the tone, spirit, and courage of the poorer classes. He favored the clause giving to Congress the power of impeaching the President, without which he contended that the people would have no resource against a faithless executive but revolution or assassination, remedies in most cases worse than the disease, and he advocated four years' residence of a foreigner as sufficient preparation for citizenship. It is not too much to say that to Franklin perhaps more than to any other one man, the present Constitution of the United States owes most of those features which have given it durability and have made it the ideal by which all other systems of government are tested by Americans.

The following picture of Franklin, as he appeared to an intelligent visitor at this stage of his career, is extracted from the diary of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Hamilton, Mass., a scholar and botanist of some fame in his time. While on a visit at Philadelphia, he waited upon Franklin. The MS. was communicated to Mr. Sparks by Mr. Caleb Emerson, who transcribed it, and it was first published in Sparks's "Life of Franklin," at page 520.

"*July 13th*, 1787.—Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street. His house stands up a court, at some distance from the street. He found him in his garden, sitting upon a grass-plot, under a very large mulberry-tree, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. When Mr. Gerry introduced me, he rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy at seeing me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance open, frank, and pleasing.

point of human prudence; for, whatever advantage one nation would obtain from another, whether it be part of

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I delivered to him my letters. After he had read them, he took me again by the hand, and, with the usual compliments, introduced me to the other gentlemen, who are most of them members of the Convention.

"Here we entered into a free conversation, and spent our time most agreeably, until it was quite dark. The tea-table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, who is the only daughter of the Doctor, and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her. They seemed to be excessively fond of their grandpapa. The Doctor showed me a curiosity he had just received, and with which he was much pleased. It was a snake with two heads, preserved in a large phial. It was taken from the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware, about four miles from this city. It was about ten inches long, well-proportioned, the heads perfect, and united to the body about one-fourth of an inch below the extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a dark brown, approaching to black, and the back beautifully speckled with white. The belly was rather checkered with a reddish color and white. The Doctor supposed it to be full grown, which I think is probable; and he thinks it must be a sui generis of that class of animals. He grounds his opinion of its not being an extraordinary production, but a distinct genus, on the perfect form of the snake, the probability of its being of some age, and there having been found a snake entirely similar (of which the Doctor has a drawing, which he showed us), near Lake Champlain, in the time of the late war. He mentioned the situation of this snake, if it was travelling among bushes, and one head should choose to go on one side of the stem of a bush, and the other head should prefer the other side, and neither of the heads would consent to come back, or give way to the other. He was then going to mention a humorous matter, that had that day occurred in the Convention, in consequence of his comparing the snake to America; for he seemed to forget that every thing in the Convention was to be kept a profound secret. But the secrecy of Convention matters was suggested to him, which stopped him, and deprived me of the story he was going to tell.

"After it was dark we went into the house, and he invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high-studded. The walls are covered with book-shelves, filled with books; besides these there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds the length of the chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest and by far the best private library in America. He showed us a glass machine for exhibiting the circulation of the blood in the arteries and veins of the human body. The circulation is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid

their territory, the liberty of commerce with them, free passage on their rivers, &c, &c., it would be much cheaper

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from a reservoir into numerous capillary tubes of glass, ramified in every direction, and then returning in similar tubes to the reservoir, which was done with great velocity, without any power to act visibly upon the fluid, and had the appearance of perpetual motion. Another great curiosity was a rolling-press, for taking the copies of letters or any other writing. A sheet of paper is completely copied in less than two minutes; the copy as fair as the original, and without defacing it in the smallest degree. It is an invention of his own, extremely useful in many situations of life. He also showed us his long, artificial arm and hand, for taking down and puting up books on high shelves, which are out of reach; and his great arm-chair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself, keeps off the flies, &c., while he sits reading, with only a small motion of the foot; and many other curiosities and inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over his mantel he has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax, or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe.

"But what the Doctor wished principally to show me was a huge volume on botany, which indeed afforded me the greatest pleasure of any one thing in his library. It was a single volume, but so large, that it was with great difficulty that he was able to raise it from a low shelf, and lift it on the table. But, with that senile ambition, which is common to old people, he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining. It contained the whole of Linnæus's Systema Vegetabilium, with large cuts of every plant, colored from nature. It was a feast to me, and the Doctor seemed to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a couple of hours in examining this volume, while the other gentlemen amused themselves with other matters. The Doctor is not a botanist, but lamented he did not in early life attend to this science. He delights in Natural History, and expressed an earnest wish, that I should pursue the plan that I had begun, and hoped this science, so much neglected in America, would be pursued with as much ardor here as it is now in every part of Europe. I wanted, for three months at least, to have devoted myself entirely to this one volume; but, fearing lest I should be tedious to him, I shut up the volume, though he urged me to examine it longer.

"He seemed extremely fond, through the course of the visit, of dwelling on philosophical subjects, and particularly that of Natural History; while the other gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. This was a favorable circumstance for me; for almost the whole of his conversation was addressed to me, and I was highly delighted with the extensive knowledge he appeared

to purchase such advantage with ready money than to pay the expense of acquiring it by war. An army is a devouring monster, and, when you have raised it, you have, in order to subsist it, not only the fair charges of pay, clothing, provisions, arms, and ammunition, with numberless other contingent and just charges to answer and satisfy, but you have all the additional knavish charges of the numerous tribe of contractors to defray, with those of every other dealer who furnishes the articles wanted for your army, and takes advantage of that want to demand exorbitant prices. It seems to me, that, if statesmen had a little more arithmetic, or were more accustomed to calculation, wars would be much less frequent. I am confident, that Canada might have been purchased from France for a tenth part of the money England spent in the conquest of it. And, if, instead of fighting with us for the power of taxing us, she had kept us in good humor by allowing us to dispose of our own money, and now and then giving us a little of hers, by way of donation to colleges, or hospitals, or for cutting canals, or fortifying ports, she might have easily drawn from us much more by our occasional voluntary grants and contributions, than ever she could by taxes. Sensible people will give a bucket or two of water to a dry pump, that they may afterwards get from it all they have occasion for. Her ministry were deficient in that little point of common sense. And so

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to have of every subject, the brightness of his memory, and clearness and vivacity of all his mental faculties, notwithstanding his age. His manners are perfectly easy, and every thing about him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom and happiness. He has an incessant vein of humor, accompanied with an uncommon vivacity, which seemed as natural and involuntary as his breathing. He urged me to call on him again, but my short stay would not permit. We took our leave at ten, and I retired to my lodgings."—ED.

they spent one hundred millions of her money, and after all lost what they contended for.

I lament the loss your town has suffered this year by fire. I sometimes think men do not act like reasonable creatures, when they build for themselves combustible dwellings, in which they are every day obliged to use fire. In my new buildings, I have taken a few precautions, not generally used; to wit, none of the wooden work of one room communicates with the wooden work of any other room; and all the floors, and even the steps of the stairs, are plastered close to the boards, besides the plastering on the laths under the joists. There are also trap-doors to go out upon the roofs, that one may go out and wet the shingles in case of a neighbouring fire. But, indeed, I think the staircases should be stone, and the floors tiled as in Paris, and the roofs either tiled or slated.

I sent you lately a barrel of flour, and I blame myself for not sooner desiring you to lay in your winter's wood, and drawing upon me for it as last year. But I have been so busy. To avoid such neglect in future, I now make the direction general, that you draw on me every year for the same purpose.

SPEECH IN THE FEDERAL CONVENTION ON MOTION FOR OPENING THE CONVENTION WITH PRAYER.

MR. PRESIDENT,

The small progress we have made, after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question,

several of the last producing as many *Noes* as *Ayes*, is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to *feel* our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics, which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard;— and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need its assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *that* GOD *governs in the affairs of men.* And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the Sacred Writings, that "except the Lord

build the house, they labor in vain that build it." I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that, without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall be divided by our little, partial, local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move,

That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.*

SPEECH ON THE SALARIES OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.†

It is with reluctance that I rise to express a disapprobation of any one article of the plan, for which we are so

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* *Note by Dr. Franklin.*—"The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!"—ED.

† Franklin and Washington taught in the most eloquent way, though unsuccessfully, the impolicy of allowing any compensation to executive officers: they both declined to accept what the law awarded them. Franklin consented to receive something less than ninety dollars to cover his postage account while President of Pennsylvania, and in his will bequeathed the rest to various charities, besides one thousand pounds to the creation of a fund for the benefit of young mechanics in Boston, and another thousand for the benefit of the mechanics of Philadelphia. This clause of his will begins as follows:

much obliged to the honorable gentleman who laid it before us. From its first reading, I have borne a good will to it, and, in general, wished it success. In this particular of salaries to the executive branch, I happen to differ; and, as my opinion may appear new and chimerical, it is only from a persuasion that it is right, and from a sense of duty, that I hazard it. The committee will judge of my reasons when they have heard them, and their judgment may possibly change mine. I think I see inconveniences in the appointment of salaries; I see none in refusing them, but, on the contrary, great advantages.

Sir, there are two passions which have a powerful influence in the affairs of men. These are *ambition* and *avarice;* the love of power and the love of money. Separately, each of these has great force in prompting men to action; but, when united in view of the same object, they have in many minds the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men a post of *honor*, that shall at the same time be a place of *profit*, and they will move heaven and earth to obtain it. The vast number of such places it is, that renders the British government so tempestuous. The struggles for them are the true source of all those factions which are perpetually dividing the nation, distracting its councils, hurrying it sometimes into fruitless and mischievous wars, and often compelling a submission to dishonorable terms of peace.

"It having been long a fixed political opinion of mine, that in a democratical State there ought to be no offices of profit, for the reasons I have given in an article of my drawing in our Constitution; it was my intention, when I accepted the office of President, to devote the appointed salary to some public uses," &c.

Some of the consequences which Franklin, in the speech in the text, predicted from a contrary policy, have already been realized.—ED.

And of what kind are the men that will strive for this profitable preëminence, through all the hustle of cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite mutual abuse of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters? It will not be the wise and moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fittest for the trust. It will be the bold and the violent, the men of strong passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. These will thrust themselves into your government, and be your rulers. And these, too, will be mistaken in the expected happiness of their situation; for their vanquished competitors, of the same spirit, and from the same motives, will perpetually be endeavouring to distress their administration, thwart their measures, and render them odious to the people.

Besides these evils, Sir, though we may set out in the beginning with moderate salaries, we shall find, that such will not be of long continuance. Reasons will never be wanting for proposed augmentations; and there will always be a party for giving more to the rulers, that the rulers may be able in return to give more to them. Hence, as all history informs us, there has been in every state and kingdom a constant kind of warfare between the governing and the governed; the one striving to obtain more for its support, and the other to pay less. And this has alone occasioned great convulsions, actual civil wars, ending either in dethroning of the princes or enslaving of the people. Generally, indeed, the ruling power carries its point, and we see the revenues of princes constantly increasing, and we see that they are never satisfied, but always in want of more. The more the people are discontented with the oppression of taxes, the greater need the prince has of money to distribute among his partisans, and pay the troops

that are to suppress all resistance, and enable him to plunder at pleasure. There is scarce a king in a hundred, who would not, if he could, follow the example of Pharaoh,—get first all the people's money, then all their lands, and then make them and their children servants for ever. It will be said, that we do not propose to establish kings. I know it. But there is a natural inclination in mankind to kingly government. It sometimes relieves them from aristocratic domination. They had rather have one tyrant than five hundred. It gives more of the appearance of equality among citizens; and that they like. I am apprehensive, therefore,—perhaps too apprehensive,—that the government of these States may in future times end in a monarchy. But this catastrophe, I think, may be long delayed, if in our proposed system we do not sow the seeds of contention, faction, and tumult, by making our posts of honor places of profit. If we do, I fear, that, though we employ at first a number and not a single person, the number will in time be set aside; it will only nourish the fœtus of a king (as the honorable gentleman from Virginia very aptly expressed it), and a king will the sooner be set over us.

It may be imagined by some, that this is an Utopian idea, and that we can never find men to serve us in the executive department, without paying them well for their services. I conceive this to be a mistake. Some existing facts present themselves to me, which incline me to a contrary opinion. The high sheriff of a county in England is an honorable office, but it is not a profitable one. It is rather expensive, and therefore not sought for. But yet it is executed, and well executed, and usually by some of the principal gentlemen of the county. In France, the office of counsellor, or member of their judiciary parliaments, is

more honorable. It is therefore purchased at a high price; there are indeed fees on the law proceedings, which are divided among them, but these fees do not amount to more than three per cent on the sum paid for the place. Therefore, as legal interest is there at five per cent, they in fact pay two per cent for being allowed to do the judiciary business of the nation, which is at the same time entirely exempt from the burthen of paying them any salaries for their services. I do not, however, mean to recommend this as an eligible mode for our judiciary department. I only bring the instance to show, that the pleasure of doing good and serving their country, and the respect such conduct entitles them to, are sufficient motives with some minds, to give up a great portion of their time to the public, without the mean inducement of pecuniary satisfaction.

Another instance is that of a respectable society, who have made the experiment, and practised it with success, now more than a hundred years. I mean the Quakers. It is an established rule with them that they are not to go to law, but in their controversies they must apply to their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. Committees of these sit with patience to hear the parties, and spend much time in composing their differences. In doing this, they are supported by a sense of duty, and the respect paid to usefulness. It is honorable to be so employed, but it was never made profitable by salaries, fees, or perquisites. And indeed, in all cases of public service, the less the profit the greater the honor.

To bring the matter nearer home, have we not seen the greatest and most important of our offices, that of general of our armies, executed for eight years together, without the smallest salary, by a patriot whom I will not now offend by

any other praise; and this, through fatigues and distresses, in common with the other brave men, his military friends and companions, and the constant anxieties peculiar to his station? And shall we doubt finding three or four men in all the United States, with public spirit enough to bear sitting in peaceful council, for perhaps an equal term, merely to preside over our civil concerns, and see that our laws are duly executed? Sir, I have a better opinion of our country. I think we shall never be without a sufficient number of wise and good men to undertake, and execute well and faithfully, the office in question.

Sir, the saving of the salaries, that may at first be proposed, is not an object with me. The subsequent mischiefs of proposing them are what I apprehend. And therefore it is that I move the amendment. If it is not seconded or accepted, I must be contented with the satisfaction of having delivered my opinion frankly and done my duty.

SPEECH IN THE CONVENTION, AT THE CONCLUSION OF ITS DELIBERATIONS.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I confess, that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present; but, Sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it; for, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves

in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant, in a dedication, tells the Pope, that the only difference between our two churches in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrine, is, the Romish Church is *infallible*, and the Church of England is *never in the wrong*. But, though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little dispute with her sister, said, "But I meet with nobody but myself that is *always* in the right." "*Je ne trouve que moi qui aie toujours raison.*"

In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults,—if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no *form* of government but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered; and I believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better constitution; for, when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a *perfect* production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear, that our counsels are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are on the point of separation,

only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its *errors* I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on *opinion*, on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, that we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it *well administered.*

On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention who may still have objections to it, would with me on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make *manifest* our *unanimity*, put his name to this instrument.

[Then the motion was made for adding the last formula, viz. "Done in convention by the unanimous consent," &c.; which was agreed to and added accordingly.]

CHAPTER XII.

Reëlected President of Pennsylvania—Buffon—Remedy for the Stone—Conveniences of a Revenue Tariff—The First Steamboat—Honesty of Heretics—Franklin's Public Services—Unavailing Requests for a Settlement of his Accounts.

1787.

To Alexander Small, dated Philadelphia, 28 Sept., 1787.

I HAVE not lost any of the principles of public economy you once knew me possessed of; but to get the bad customs of a country changed, and new ones, though better, introduced, it is necessary first to remove the prejudices of the people, enlighten their ignorance, and convince them that their interest will be promoted by the proposed changes; and this is not the work of a day. Our legislators are all landholders; and they are not yet persuaded, that all taxes are finally paid by the land. Besides, our country is so sparsely settled, the habitations, particularly in the back countries, being perhaps five or six miles distant from each other, that the time and labor of the collector in going from house to house, and being obliged to call often before he can recover the tax, amounts to more than the tax is worth, and therefore we have been forced into the mode of indirect taxes, that is, duties on importation of goods, and excises.

I have made no attempt to introduce the Form of Prayer

here, which you and good Mrs. Baldwin do me the honor to approve. The things of *this* world take up too much of my time, of which indeed I have too little left, to undertake any thing like a reformation in matters of religion. When we can sow good seed, we should however do it, and wait, when we can do no better, with patience nature's time, for their sprouting. Some lie many years in the ground, and at length certain favorable seasons or circumstances bring them forth with vigorous shoots and plentiful productions.

Had I been at home as you wish, soon after the peace, I might possibly have mitigated some of the severities against the royalists, believing, as I do, that fear and error, rather than malice, occasioned their desertion of their country's cause, and the adoption of the King's. The public resentment against them is now so far abated, that none who ask leave to return are refused, and many of them now live among us much at their ease. As to the restoration of confiscated estates, it is an operation that none of our politicians have as yet ventured to propose. They are a sort of people, that love to fortify themselves in their projects by precedent. Perhaps they wait to see your government restore the forfeited estates in Scotland to the Scotch, those in Ireland to the Irish, and those in England to the Welch.

I am glad that the distressed exiles, who remain with you, have received, or are likely to receive, some compensation for their losses, for I commiserate their situation. It was clearly incumbent on the King to indemnify those he had seduced by his proclamations; but it seems not so clearly consistent with the wisdom of Parliament to resolve doing it for him. If some mad King should think fit, in a

freak, to make war upon his subjects of Scotland, or upon those of England, by the help of Scotland and Ireland, as the Stuarts did, may he not encourage followers by the precedent of these parliamentary gratuities, and thus set his subjects to cutting one another's throats, first with the hope of sharing in confiscations, and then with that of compensation in case of disappointment? The council of brutes without a fable were aware of this. Lest that fable may perhaps not have fallen in your way, I enclose a copy of it.

To Mrs. Jane Mecom, dated Philadelphia, 4 Nov., 1787.

I am glad you have made the provision against the winter, which I mentioned to you. Your bill is honored. It is impossible for me always to guess what you may want, and I hope, therefore, that you will never be shy in letting me know wherein I can help to make your life more comfortable.*

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* Among Dr. Franklin's papers I have found a large number of letters from his sister, extending through a period of nearly forty years. They are confined chiefly to family or private affairs, but they are uniformly marked with strong good sense, and the warmest attachment to her brother. She was left a widow in early life, with very small means of support; and she was unfortunate in the sickness and loss of some of her children, and the ill success of others. Her circumstances were made comfortable by the constant kindness and generous care of her brother, who regularly remitted to her money, and occasionally such other things as he knew she wanted. A part of the time she resided with a married daughter, but she had a home of her own in a house that belonged to Dr. Franklin in Boston. In her letters to her brother, she repeatedly expresses her gratitude for his watchfulness over her, and for his bounty. Soon after his return from France, she wrote; "I believe I did not tell you how thankfully I received your gift; but be assured, my dear brother, that there is not a day passes in which my heart does not overflow with gratitude to you, and adoration to the Supreme Benefactor of all mankind, who puts it in your power, not only to make me as happy as humanity can expect to be, but enables you to diffuse your benefits so widely. I know it is your judgment, as well as practice,

It was my intention to decline serving another year as President, that I might be at liberty to take a trip to Boston in the spring; but I submit to the unanimous voice of my country, which has again placed me in the chair. I have now been upwards of fifty years employed in public offices. When I informed your good friend Dr. Cooper, that I was ordered to France, being then seventy years old, and observed, that the public, having as it were eaten my flesh, seemed now resolved to pick my bones, he replied that he approved their taste, for that the nearer the bone the sweeter the meat. I must own, that it is no small pleasure to me, and I suppose it will give my sister pleasure, that, after such a long trial of me, I should be elected a third time by my fellow citizens, without a dissenting vote but my own, to fill the most honorable post in their power to bestow. This universal and unbounded confidence of a whole people flatters my vanity much more than a peerage could do.

"Hung o'er with ribands and stuck round with strings,"

may give nominal, but not real honors.

This family are all well, as I also am, thanks to God. We join in best wishes for you and yours.

To Count de Buffon, dated Philadelphia, 19 Nov., 1787.

I am honored by your letter, desiring to know by what means I am relieved in a disorder, with which you are also unfortunately

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that kindness of heart should be expressed by deeds; but, in my opinion, words should not be excluded, (though I sometimes neglect them,) especially when there is no opportunity to perform deeds." Similar sentiments might be extracted from many of her letters. She was fond of reading, and frequently consulted her brother as to the most suitable books, which he took pains either to recommend or furnish.—S.

afflicted. I have tried all the noted prescriptions for *diminishing* the stone without perceiving any good effect. But observing temperance in eating, avoiding wine and cider, and using daily the dumb bell, which exercises the upper part of the body without much moving the parts in contact with the stone, I think I have prevented its *increase*.

As the roughness of the stone lacerates a little the neck of the bladder, I find, that, when the urine happens to be sharp, I have much pain in making water and frequent urgencies. For relief under this circumstance, I take, going to bed, the bigness of a pigeon's egg of jelly of blackberries. The receipt for making it is enclosed. While I continue to do this every night, I am generally easy the day following, making water pretty freely, and with long intervals. I wish most sincerely that this simple remedy may have the same happy effect with you. Perhaps currant jelly, or the jelly of apples or of raspberries, may be equally serviceable; for I suspect the virtue of the jelly may lie principally in the boiled sugar, which is in some degree candied by the boiling of the jelly. Wishing you for your own sake much more ease, and for the sake of mankind many more years, I remain with the greatest esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant.

To the Printer of the "Evening Herald" [date uncertain].

The British newswriters are very assiduous in their endeavours to blacken America. Should we not be careful not to afford them any assistance by censures of one another, especially by censures not well founded?

I lately observed, in one of your papers, the conduct of the State of Massachusetts reflected on as being inconsistent

and absurd, as well as wicked, for attempting to raise a tax by a Stamp Act, and for carrying on the Slave Trade.

The writer of those reflections might have considered, that their principal objection to the Stamp Tax was, its being imposed by a British Parliament, which had no right to tax them; for otherwise a tax by stamps is perhaps to be levied with as little inconvenience as any other that can be invented. Ireland has a Stamp Act of its own; but, should Britain pretend to impose such a tax on the Irish people, they would probably give a general opposition to it, and ought not for that to be charged with inconsistence.

One or two merchants in Boston, employing ships in the abominable African trade, may deservedly be condemned, though they do not bring their slaves home, but sell them in the West Indies. The State, as such, has never, that I have heard of, given encouragement to the diabolical commerce; and there have always been fewer slaves in the New England governments than in any other British colonies. National reflections are seldom just, and a whole people should not be decried for the crimes of a few individuals.

To Mather Byles,* dated Philadelphia, 1 Jan., 1788.

It gives me much pleasure to understand, that my points have been of service in the protection of you and yours. I wish for your sake, that electricity had really proved what it was at first supposed to be, a cure for the palsy. It is, however, happy for you, that, when old age and that malady have concurred to enfeeble you, and to disable you for writing, you have a daughter at hand to nurse you with filial attention, and to

* A clergyman of Boston. For some biographical anecdotes respecting him, see Tudor's "Life of James Otis," pp. 155–160.—ED.

be your secretary, of which I see she is very capable, by the elegance and correctness of her writing in the letter I am now answering. I too have a daughter, who lives with me and is the comfort of my declining years, while my son is estranged from me by the part he took in the late war, and keeps aloof, residing in England, whose cause he *espoused;* whereby the old proverb is exemplified;

> "My son is my son till he gets him a wife;
> But my daughter 's my daughter all the days of her life."

I remember you had a little collection of curiosities. Please to honor with a place in it the enclosed medal, which I got struck in Paris. The thought was much approved by the connoisseurs there, and the engraving well executed.

To M. Le Veillard, dated Philadelphia, 17 Feb., 1788.

I should have proceeded in the history you mention,* if I could well have avoided accepting the chair of President for this third and last year; to which I was again elected by the *unanimous* voice of the Council and General Assembly in November. If I live to see this year expire, I may enjoy some leisure, which I promise you to employ in the work you do me the honor to urge so earnestly.

I sent you with my last a copy of the new Constitution proposed for the United States by the late General Convention. I sent one also to our excellent friend the Duke de la Rochefoucauld. I attended the business of the Convention faithfully for four months. Enclosed you have the last speech I made in it.† Six States have already adopted the Constitution, and there is now little doubt of its being

* The Memoirs of his own Life.—ED.

† See next preceding chapter.—ED.

accepted by a sufficient number to carry it into execution, if not immediately by the whole. It has, however, met with great opposition in some States, for we are at present a nation of politicians. And, though there is a general dread of giving too much power to our *governors*, I think we are more in danger from too little obedience in the *governed*.

We shall, as you suppose, have imposts on trade, and custom-houses, not because other nations have them, but because we cannot at present do without them. We want to discharge our public debt occasioned by the late war. Direct taxes are not so easily levied on the scantily settled inhabitants of our wide-extended country; and what is paid in the price of merchandise is less felt by the consumer, and less the cause of complaint. When we are out of debt we may leave our trade free, for our ordinary charges of government will not be great.

Where there is a free government, and the people make their own laws by their representatives, I see no injustice in their obliging one another to take their own paper money. It is no more so than compelling a man by law to take his own note. But it is unjust to pay strangers with such money against their will. The making of paper money with such a sanction is however a folly, since, although you may by law oblige a citizen to take it for his goods, you cannot fix his prices; and his liberty of rating them as he pleases, which is the same thing as setting what value he pleases on your money, defeats your sanction.

I have been concerned to hear of the troubles in the internal government of the country I love; and hope some good may come out of them; and that they may end without mischief.

In your letter to my grandson, you asked some questions

that had an appearance as if you meditated a visit to us. Nothing in this world would give me greater pleasure, than to receive and embrace here the whole family; but it is too great a happiness to be expected.

To M. Le Veillard, dated Philadelphia, 22 April, 1788.

I received but a few days since, your favor of November 30th, 1787, in which you continue to urge me to finish the Memoirs. My three years of service will expire in October, when a new president must be chosen; and I had the project of retiring then to my grandson's estate in New Jersey, where I might be free from the interruption of visits, in order to complete that work for your satisfaction; for in this city my time is so cut to pieces by friends and strangers, that I have sometimes envied the prisoners in Bastille. But considering now the little remnant of life I have left, the accidents that may happen between this and October, and your earnest desire, I have come to the resolution to proceed in that work to-morrow, and continue it daily till finished, which, if my health permits, may be in the course of the ensuing summer. As it goes on, I will have a copy made for you, and you may expect to receive a part by the next packet.

It is very possible, as you suppose, that all the articles of the proposed new government will not remain unchanged, after the first meeting of the Congress. I am of opinion with you, that the *two* chambers were not necessary, and I disliked some other articles that are in, and wished for some that are not in the proposed plan. I nevertheless hope it may be adopted, though I should have nothing to do with the execution of it, being determined to quit all public business with my present employer. At eighty-three one certainly has a right to *ambition* repose.

We are not ignorant, that the duties paid at the custom-house on the importation of foreign goods are finally reimbursed by the consumer, but we impos. them as the easiest way of levying a tax from those consumers. If our new country was as closely inhabited as your old one, we might without much difficulty collect a land tax, that would be sufficient for all purposes; but where farms are at five or six miles' distance from each other, as they are in a great part of our country, the going of the collectors from house to house to demand the taxes, and being obliged to call more than once for the same tax, makes the trouble of collecting in many cases exceed the value of the sum collected. Things that are practicable in one country are not always so in another, where circumstances differ. Our duties are, however, generally so small, as to give little temptation to smuggling.

To John Lathrop,* dated Philadelphia, 31 May, 1788.

It would certainly, as you observe, be a very great pleasure to me, if I could once again visit my native town, and walk over the grounds I used to frequent when a boy, and where I enjoyed many of the innocent pleasures of youth, which would be so brought to my remembrance, and where I might find some of my old acquaintance to converse with. But when I consider how well I am situated here, with every thing about me, that I can call either necessary or convenient; the fatigues and bad accommodations to be met with and suffered in a land journey, and the unpleasantness of sea voyages, to one, who, although he has crossed the Atlantic eight times, and made many smaller trips, does not recollect his having ever been at sea without

* An eminent clergyman of Boston, and for many years a neighbour and valued friend of Mrs. Mecom, the sister of Dr. Franklin.—ED.

taking a firm resolution never to go to sea again; and that, if I were arrived in Boston, I should see but little of it, as I could neither bear walking nor riding in a carriage over its pebbled streets; and, above all, that I should find very few indeed of my old friends living, it being now sixty-five years since I left it to settle here;—all this considered, I say, it seems probable, though not certain, that I shall hardly again visit that beloved place. But I enjoy the company and conversation of its inhabitants, when any of them are so good as to visit me; for, besides their general good sense, which I value, the Boston manner, turn of phrase, and even tone of voice, and accent in pronunciation, all please, and seem to refresh and revive me.

I have been long impressed with the same sentiments you so well express, of the growing felicity of mankind, from the improvements in philosophy, morals, politics, and even the conveniences of common living, and the invention and acquisition of new and useful utensils and instruments; so that I have sometimes almost wished it had been my destiny to be born two or three centuries hence. For invention and improvement are prolific, and beget more of their kind. The present progress is rapid. Many of great importance, now unthought of, will before that period be produced; and then I might not only enjoy their advantages, but have my curiosity gratified in knowing what they are to be. I see a little absurdity in what I have just written, but it is to a friend, who will wink and let it pass, while I mention one reason more for such a wish, which is, that, if the art of physic shall be improved in proportion to other arts, we may then be able to avoid diseases, and live as long as the patriarchs in Genesis; to which I suppose we should have little objection.

I am glad my dear sister has so good and kind a neighbour. I sometimes suspect she may be backward in acquainting me with circumstances in which I might be more useful to her. If any such should occur to your observation, your mentioning them to me will be a favor I shall be thankful for.

To M. Le Veillard, dated Philadelphia, 8 June, 1788.

I received a few days ago your kind letter of the 3d of January. The *arrêt* in favor of the *non-catholiques* gives pleasure here, not only from its present advantages, but as it is a good step towards general toleration, and to the abolishing in time all party spirit among Christians, and the mischiefs that have so long attended it. Thank God, the world is growing wiser and wiser; and as by degrees men are convinced of the folly of wars for religion, for dominion, or for commerce, they will be happier and happier.

Eight States have now agreed to the proposed new constitution; there remain five who have not yet discussed it; their appointed times of meeting not being yet arrived. Two are to meet this month, the rest later. One more agreeing, it will be carried into execution. Probably some will not agree at present, but time may bring them in; so that we have little doubt of its becoming general, perhaps with some corrections. As to your friend's taking a share in the management of it, his age and infirmities render him unfit for the business, as the business would be for him. After the expiration of his presidentship, which will now be in a few months, he is *determined* to engage no more in public affairs, even if required; but his countrymen will be too reasonable to require it. You are not so considerate; you are a hard task-master. You insist on his writing

his life, already a long work, and at the same time would have him continually employed in augmenting the subject, while the time shortens in which the work is to be executed. General Washington is the man that all our eyes are fixed on for *President*, and what little influence I may have, is devoted to him. I am, &c.

To M. Dupont de Nemours; dated Philadelphia, 9 June, 1788.

I have received your favor of December 31st, with the extract of a letter, which you wish to have translated and published here. But seven States having, before it arrived, ratified the new constitution, and others being daily expected to do the same, after the fullest discussion in convention, and in all the public papers, till everybody was tired of the argument, it seemed too late to propose delay, and especially the delay that must be occasioned by a revision and correction of all the separate Constitutions. For it would take at least a year to convince thirteen States, that the Constitutions they have practised ever since the Revolution, without observing any imperfections in them so great as to be worth the trouble of amendment, are nevertheless so ill formed as to be unfit for continuation, or to be parts of a federal government. And, when they should be so convinced, it would probably take some years more to make the corrections.

An eighth State has since acceded, and when a ninth is added, which is now daily expected, the constitution will be carried into execution. It is probable, however, that, at the first meeting of the new Congress, various amendments will be proposed and discussed, when I hope your "Ouvrage sur les Principes et le Bien des Républiques en général," &c. &c., may be ready to put into their hands;

and such a work from your hand I am confident, though it may not be entirely followed, will afford useful hints, and produce advantages of importance.

But we must not expect, that a new government may be formed, as a game of chess may be played, by a skilful hand, without a fault. The players of our game are so many, their ideas so different, their prejudices so strong and so various, and their particular interests, independent of the general, seeming so opposite, that not a move can be made that is not contested; the numerous objections confound the understanding; the wisest must agree to some unreasonable things, that reasonable ones of more consequence may be obtained; and thus chance has its share in many of the determinations, so that the play is more like *tric-trac* with a box of dice.

We are much pleased with the disposition of your government to favor our commerce, manifested in the late *réglement*. You appear to be possessed of a *truth*, which few governments are possessed of, that A must take some of B's produce, otherwise B will not be able to pay for what he would take of A. But there is one thing wanting to facilitate and augment our intercourse. It is a dictionary, explaining the names of different articles of manufacture in the two languages. When I was in Paris, I received a large order for a great variety of goods, particularly of the kind called hard wares, that is, wares of iron and steel; and when I showed the invoice to your manufacturers, they did not understand what kind of goods or instruments were meant by the names; nor could any English and French dictionary be found to explain them. So I sent to England for one of each sort, which might serve both as explanation and as a model, the latter being of importance likewise,

since people are prejudiced in favor of *forms* they have been used to, though perhaps not the best. They cost me twenty-five guineas, but were lost by the way, and, the peace coming on, the scheme dropped. It would, however, as I imagine, be well worth reviving, for our merchants say, we still send to England for such goods as we want, because there they understand our orders, and can execute them precisely.

To the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, dated Philadelphia, 22 Oct., 1788.

Our public affairs begin to wear a more quiet aspect. The disputes about the faults of the new constitution are subsided. The first Congress will probably mend the principal ones, and future Congresses the rest. That which you mentioned did not pass unnoticed in the Convention. Many, if I remember right, were for making the President incapable of being chosen after the first four years; but the majority were for leaving the electors free to choose whom they pleased; and it was alleged, that such incapacity might tend to make the President less attentive to the duties of his office, and to the interests of the people, than he would be if a second choice depended on their good opinion of him. We are *making experiments* in politics; what knowledge we shall gain by them will be more certain, though perhaps we may hazard too much in *that* mode of acquiring it. ——

Having now finished my turn of being President, and promising myself to engage no more in public business, I hope to enjoy the small remains of life that are allowed me, in the repose I have so long wished for. I purpose to employ it in completing the personal history you mention.*

* The Memoirs of his Life.—ED.

It is now brought down to my fiftieth year. What is to follow will be of more important transactions; but it seems to me what is done will be of more general use to young readers, exemplifying strongly the effects of *prudent* and *imprudent conduct* in the commencement of a life of business.

To Madame Lavoisier, dated Philadelphia, 23 Oct., 1788.

I have a long time been disabled from writing to my dear friend, by a severe fit of the gout, or I should sooner have returned my thanks for her very kind present of the portrait, which she has herself done me the honor to make of me. It is allowed by those, who have seen it, to have great merit as a picture in every respect; but what particularly endears it to me is the hand that drew it. Our English enemies, when they were in possession of this city and my house, made a prisoner of my portrait, and carried it off with them, leaving that of its companion, my wife, by itself, a kind of widow. You have replaced the husband, and the lady seems to smile as well pleased.

It is true, as you observe, that I enjoy here every thing that a reasonable mind can desire, a sufficiency of income, a comfortable habitation of my own building, having all the conveniences I could imagine; a dutiful and affectionate daughter to nurse and take care of me, a number of promising grandchildren, some old friends still remaining to converse with, and more respect, distinction, and public honors than I can possibly merit. These are the blessings of God, and depend on his continued goodness; yet all do not make me forget Paris, and the nine years' happiness I enjoyed there, in the sweet society of a people whose conversation is instructive, whose manners are highly pleasing,

and who, above all the nations of the world, have, in the greatest perfection, the art of making themselves beloved by strangers. And now, even in my sleep, I find, that the scenes of all my pleasant dreams are laid in that city, or in its neighbourhood.

Please to present my thanks to M. Lavoisier for the "Nomenclature Chimique" he has been so good as to send me, (it must be a very useful book,) and assure him of my great and sincere esteem and attachment. My best wishes attend you both; and I think I cannot wish you and him greater happiness, than a long continuance of the connexion.

To John Ingenhousz, dated Philadelphia, 24 Oct., 1788.

—— You have always been kind enough to interest yourself in what relates to my health. I ought therefore to acquaint you with what appears to me something curious respecting it. You may remember the cutaneous malady, I formerly complained of, and for which you and Dr. Pringle favored me with prescriptions and advice. It vexed me near fourteen years, and was, the beginning of this year, as bad as ever, covering almost my whole body, except my face and hands; when a fit of the gout came on, without very much pain, but a swelling in both feet, which at last appeared also in both knees, and then in my hands. As these swellings increased and extended, the other malady diminished, and at length disappeared entirely. Those swellings have some time since begun to fall, and are now almost gone; perhaps the cutaneous disease may return, or perhaps it is worn out. I may hereafter let you know what happens. I am on the whole much weaker than when it began to leave me. But possibly that may be the effect of age, for I

am now near eighty-three, the age of commencing decrepitude.

I grieve at the wars Europe is engaged in, and wish they were ended; for I fear even the victors will be losers.

We have no philosophical news here at present, except that a boat moved by a steam engine rows itself against tide in our river, and it is apprehended the construction may be so simplified and improved as to become generally useful.*

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* Alluding to John Fitch's experiment, the germ of the modern steamer. Shortly after Franklin's return to the United States, Fitch wrote him more than once about his scheme for rowing boats by steam. In one of his letters, dated October 12, 1785, he wrote:

"It is a matter, in his (the subscriber's) opinion, of the first magnitude, not only to the United States, but to every maritime power in the world; and he is full in the belief, that it will answer for sea voyages as well as for inland navigation, in particular for packets, where there may be a great number of passengers. He is also of opinion, that fuel for a short voyage would not exceed the weight of water for a long one, and it would produce a constant supply of fresh water. He also believes, that the boat would make head against the most violent tempests, and thereby escape the danger of a lee shore; and that the same force may be applied to a pump to free a leaky ship of her water. What emboldens him to be thus presuming, as to the good effects of the machine, is the almost omnipotent force by which it is actuated, and the very simple, easy, and natural way by which the screws or paddles are turned to answer the purpose of oars.

"I expect to return from Kentucky about the 1st of June next, and nothing would give me more pleasure than to make an essay under your patronage, and have your friendly assistance in introducing another useful art into the world."

Franklin had too many cares and preoccupations at that period of his life to investigate Fitch's patent sufficiently to appreciate all of its importance. A man who attains a position which makes him the confidant not only of all the inventors but of all the crack-brains of the world as well, may be excused if the rules he is obliged to adopt in order to secure a little time to himself, occasionally keep him in ignorance of things he would be glad to know. It would seem, however, from the letter in the text, that Fitch's invention had left a more favorable impression upon his mind than, up to that time, it had left on the mind of the public generally.—ED.

To Benjamin Vaughan, dated Philadelphia, 24 Oct., 1788.

—— Having now finished my term in the Presidentship, and resolving to engage no more in public affairs, I hope to be a better correspondent for the little time I have to live. I am recovering from a long-continued gout, and am diligently employed in writing the History of my Life, to the doing of which the persuasions contained in your letter of January 31st, 1783, have not a little contributed. I am now in the year 1756, just before I was sent to England. To shorten the work, as well as for other reasons, I omit all facts and transactions, that may not have a tendency to benefit the young reader, by showing him from my example, and my success in emerging from poverty, and acquiring some degree of wealth, power, and reputation, the advantages of certain modes of conduct which I observed, and of avoiding the errors which were prejudicial to me. If a writer can judge properly of his own work, I fancy, on reading over what is already done, that the book will be found entertaining, interesting, and useful, more so than I expected when I began it. If my present state of health continues, I hope to finish it this winter. When done, you shall have a manuscript copy of it, that I may obtain from your judgment and friendship such remarks, as may contribute to its improvement.

To M. Le Veillard, dated Philadelphia, 24 Oct., 1788.

I have been much afflicted the last summer with a long-continued fit of the gout, which I am not quite clear of, though much better; my other malady is not augmented. I have lately made great progress in the work you so urgently demand, and have come as far as my fiftieth year. Being now free from public business, as my term in the Presidentship is expired,

and resolving to engage in no other public employment, I expect to have it finished in about two months, if illness or some unforeseen interruption does not prevent. I do not, therefore send a part at this time, thinking it better to retain the whole till I can view it all together and make the proper corrections.

I am much concerned to hear the broils in your country, but hope they will lead to its advantage. When this fermentation is over and the troubling parts subsided, the wine will be fine and good, and cheer the hearts of those who drink of it.

Our affairs mend daily and are getting into good order very fast. Never was any measure so thoroughly discussed as our proposed new constitution. Many objections were made to it in the public papers, and answers to these objections. Much party heat there was, and some violent personal abuse. I kept out of the dispute, and wrote only one little paper on the occasion, which I enclose. You seem to me to be too apprehensive about our President's being perpetual. Neither he nor we have any such intention. What danger there may be of such an event, we are all aware of, and shall take care effectually to prevent it. The choice is from four years to four years, the appointments will be small; thus we may change our President if we don't like his conduct, and he will have less inducement to struggle for a new election. As to the two Chambers, I am of your opinion, that one alone would be better; but, my dear friend, nothing in human affairs and schemes is perfect, and perhaps that is the case of our opinions.

It must have been a terrible tempest that devastated such an extent of country. I have sometimes thought it might be well to establish an office of insurance for farms against

the damage that may occur to them from storms, blight, insects, &c. A small sum paid by a number would repair such losses and prevent much poverty and distress.

Our adventurous merchants are hitherto successful in the East India trade. Perhaps it would be better for us if we used none of the commodities of those countries, but since we do use them, it is an advantage that we have them cheaper than when they came through Britain. As to the other merchandise she formerly supplied us with, our demand is daily diminishing. Our people are more and more sensible of the mischievous consequences of drinking rum; the leaders of several religious sects have warned their people against it, and the consumption has, this last year, been less by one-third. This will affect her islands. And the restraints she has laid on our trade have contributed to raise a spirit of industry in families, who now manufacture more than ever for themselves, that must lessen greatly the importation.

Embrace for me *bien tendrement* your good dame and children.

I regret the immense quantity of misery brought upon mankind by this Turkish war; and I am afraid the King of Sweden may burn his fingers by attacking Russia. When will princes learn arithmetic enough to calculate, if they want pieces of one another's territory, how much cheaper it would be to buy them, than to make war for them, even though they were to give a hundred years' purchase? But, if glory cannot be valued, and therefore the wars for it cannot be subject to arithmetical calculation so as to show their advantage or disadvantage, at least wars for trade, which have gain for their object, may be proper subjects for such computation; and a trading nation, as well as a

single trader, ought to calculate the probabilities of profit and loss, before engaging in any considerable adventure. This however nations seldom do, and we have had frequent instances of their spending more money in wars for acquiring or securing branches of commerce, than a hundred years' profit or the full enjoyment of them can compensate.

Remember me affectionately to good Dr. Price, and to the honest heretic, Dr. Priestley. I do not call him *honest* by way of distinction; for I think all the heretics I have known have been virtuous men. They have the virtue of fortitude, or they would not venture to own their heresy; and they cannot afford to be deficient in any of the other virtues, as that would give advantage to their many enemies; and they have not, like orthodox sinners, such a number of friends to excuse or justify them. Do not, however, mistake me. It is not to my good friend's heresy that I impute his honesty. On the contrary, it is his honesty that has brought upon him the character of heretic.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Partridge, dated Philadelphia, 25 Nov., 1788.

—— You tell me our poor friend Ben Kent is gone; I hope to the regions of the blessed; or at least to some place where souls are prepared for those regions. I found my hope on this, that, though not so orthodox as you and I, he was an honest man, and had his virtues. If he had any hypocrisy it was of that inverted kind, with which a man is not so bad as he seems to be. And, with regard to future bliss, I cannot help imagining, that multitudes of the zealously orthodox of different sects, who at the last day may flock together in hopes of seeing each other damned, will be

disappointed, and obliged to rest content with their own salvation.

To Mrs. Jane Mecom, dated Philadelphia, 26 Nov., 1788.

I am sorry you should suffer so much uneasiness with tears and apprehensions about my health. There are in life real evils enough, and it is a folly to afflict ourselves with imaginary ones; and it is time enough when the real ones arrive. I see by the papers that to-morrow is your thanksgiving day. The flour will arrive too late for your plum puddings, for I find it went from hence but a few days since. I hope, however, it will be with you before the winter shuts up your harbour.

I never see any Boston newspapers. You mention there being often something in them to do me honor. I am obliged to them. On the other hand, some of our papers here are endeavouring to disgrace me. I take no notice. My friends defend me. I have long been accustomed to receive more blame, as well as more praise, than I have deserved. It is the lot of every public man, and I leave one account to balance the other.

As you observe, there was no swearing in the story of the poker, when I told it. The late new dresser of it was, probably, the same, or perhaps akin to him, who, in relating a dispute that happened between Queen Anne and the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning a vacant mitre, which the Queen was for bestowing on a person the Archbishop thought unworthy, made both the Queen and the Archbishop swear three or four thumping oaths in every sentence of the discussion, and the Archbishop at last gained his point. One present at this tale, being surprised, said, "But did the Queen and the Archbishop swear so at one another?" "O no, no," says the relator; "that is only *my way* of telling the story."

To Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, dated Philadelphia, 29 Nov., 1788.

Enclosed I send a letter to the President of Congress for the time being, which, if you find nothing improper in it, or that in regard to me you could wish changed or amended, I would request you to present. I rely much on your friendly counsel, as you must be better acquainted with persons and circumstances than I am; and I suppose there will be time enough before the new Congress is formed to make any alterations you may advise, though, if presented at all, it should be to the old one.

In the copy of my letter to Mr. Barclay you may observe, that mention is made of some "considerable articles which I have not charged in my accounts with Congress, but on which I should expect from their equity some consideration." That you may have some information what those articles are, I enclose also a "Sketch of my Services to the United States," wherein you will find mention of the *extra services* I performed, that do not appertain to the office of plenipotentiary, viz. as judge of admiralty, as consul before the arrival of Mr. Barclay, as banker in examining and accepting the multitude of bills of exchange, and as secretary for several years, none being sent to me, though other ministers were allowed such assistance.

I must own, I did hope, that, as it is customary in Europe to make some liberal provision for ministers when they return home from foreign service, the Congress would at least have been kind enough to have shown their approbation of my conduct by a grant of a small tract of land in their western country, which might have been of use and some honor to my posterity. And I cannot but still think they will do something of the kind for me, whenever they shall be pleased to take my services into consideration; as

I see by their minutes, that they have allowed Mr. Lee handsomely for his services in England, before his appointment to France, in which services I and Mr. Bollan co-operated with him, and have had no such allowance; and, since his return, he has been very properly rewarded with a good place, as well as my friend Mr. Jay; though these are trifling compensations in comparison with what was granted by the King to M. Gérard on his return from America.

But how different is what has happened to me. On my return from England, in 1775, the Congress bestowed on me the office of postmaster-general, for which I was very thankful. It was indeed an office I had some kind of right to, as having previously greatly enlarged the revenue of the post by the regulations I had contrived and established, while I possessed it under the crown. When I was sent to France, I left it in the hands of my son-in-law, who was to act as my deputy. But soon after my departure, it was taken from me, and given to Mr. Hazard. When the English ministry formerly thought fit to deprive me of the office, they left me, however, the privilege of receiving and sending my letters free of postage, which is the usage when a postmaster is not displaced for misconduct in the office; but, in America, I have ever since had the postage demanded of me, which, since my return from France, has amounted to above fifty pounds, much of it occasioned by my having acted as minister there.

When I took my grandson, William Temple Franklin, with me to France, I purposed, after giving him the French language, to educate him in the study and practice of the law. But, by the repeated expectations given me of a secretary, and constant disappointments, I was induced, and indeed obliged, to retain him with me, to assist in the

secretary's office, which disappointments continued till my return, by which time, so many years of the opportunity of his studying the law were lost, and his habits of life become so different, that it appeared no longer advisable; and I then, considering him as brought up in the diplomatic line, and well qualified by his knowledge in that branch for the employ of a secretary at least, (in which opinion I was not alone, for three of my colleagues, without the smallest solicitation from me, chose him secretary of the negotiation for treaties, which they had been empowered to do,) took the liberty of recommending him to the Congress for their protection. This was the only favor I ever asked of them; and the only answer I received was, a resolution superseding him, and appointing Colonel Humphreys in his place; a gentleman, who, though he might have indeed a good deal of military merit, certainly had none in the diplomatic line, and had neither the French language, nor the experience, nor the address, proper to qualify him for such an employment.

This is all to yourself only, as a private friend; for I have not, nor ever shall, make any public complaint; and, even if I could have foreseen such unkind treatment from Congress, their refusing me thanks would not in the least have abated my zeal for the cause, and ardor in support of it. I know something of the nature of such changeable assemblies, and how little successors know of the services that have been rendered to the corps before their admission, or feel themselves obliged by such services; and what effect in obliterating a sense of them, during the absence of the servant in a distant country, the artful and reiterated malevolent insinuations of one or two envious and malicious persons may have on the minds of members, even of the

most equitable, candid, and honorable dispositions; and therefore I will pass these reflections into oblivion.

My good friend, excuse, if you can, the trouble of this letter; and if the reproach thrown on republics, that *they are apt to be ungrateful*, should ever unfortunately be verified with respect to *your* services, remember that you have a right to unbosom yourself in communicating your griefs to your ancient friend and most obedient humble servant.

Sketch of the Services of B. Franklin to the United States of America.

In England, he combated the Stamp Act, and his writings in the papers against it, with his examination in Parliament, were thought to have contributed much to its repeal.

He opposed the Duty Act; and, though he could not prevent its passing, he obtained of Mr. Townshend an omission of several articles, particularly salt.

In the subsequent difference he wrote and published many papers, refuting the claim of Parliament to tax the colonies.

He opposed all the oppressive acts.

He had two secret negotiations with the ministers for their repeal, of which he has written a narrative. In this he offered payment for the destroyed tea, at his own risk, in case they were repealed.

He was joined with Messrs. Bollan and Lee in all the applications to government for that purpose. Printed several pamphlets at his own considerable expense against the then measures of government, whereby he rendered himself obnoxious, was disgraced before the privy council,

deprived of a place in the postoffice of £300 sterling a year, and obliged to resign his agencies, viz.

of Pennsylvania	£500
of Massachusetts	400
of New Jersey	100
of Georgia	200
	£1200

In the whole £1500 sterling per annum.

Orders were sent to the King's governors not to sign any warrants on the treasury for the orders of his salaries; and, though he was not actually dismissed by the colonies that employed him, yet, thinking the known malice of the court against him rendered him less likely than others to manage their affairs to their advantage, he judged it to be his duty to withdraw from their service, and leave it open for less exceptionable persons, which saved them the necessity of removing him.

Returning to America, he encouraged the Revolution. Was appointed chairman of the Committee of Safety, where he projected the *chevaux de frise* for securing Philadelphia, then the residence of Congress.

Was sent by Congress to head-quarters near Boston with Messrs. Harrison and Lynch, in 1775, to settle some affairs with the northern governments and General Washington.

In the spring of 1776, was sent to Canada with Messrs. Chase and Carroll, passing the Lakes while they were not yet free from ice. In Canada, was, with his colleagues, instrumental in redressing sundry grievances, and thereby reconciling the people more to our cause. He then ad-

vanced to General Arnold and other servants of Congress, then in extreme necessity, £353 in gold, out of his own pocket, on the credit of Congress, which was of great service at that juncture, in procuring provisions for our army.

Being at the time he was ordered on this service upwards of seventy years of age, he suffered in his health by the hardships of this journey; lodging in the woods, &c., in so inclement a season; but, being recovered, the Congress in the same year ordered him to France. Before his departure, he put all the money he could raise, between three and four thousand pounds, into their hands; which, demonstrating his confidence, encouraged others to lend their money in support of the cause.

He made no bargain for appointments, but was promised by a vote, the *net* salary of £500 sterling per annum, his expense paid, and to be assisted by a secretary, who was to have £1000 per annum, to include all contingencies.

When the Pennsylvania Assembly sent him to England in 1764, on the same salary, they allowed him one year's advance for his passage, and in consideration of the prejudice to his private affairs that must be occasioned by his sudden departure and absence. He has had no such allowance from Congress, was badly accommodated in a miserable vessel, improper for those northern seas, (and which actually foundered in her return,) was badly fed, so that on his arrival he had scarce strength to stand.

His services to the States as commissioner, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary, are known to Congress, as may appear in his correspondence. His *extra services* may not be so well known, and therefore may be here mentioned. No secretary ever arriving, the business was in part before, and entirely when the other commissioners left

him, executed by himself, with the help of his grandson, who at first was only allowed clothes, board, and lodging, and afterwards a salary, never exceeding £300 a year, (except while he served as secretary to the Commissioners for peace,) by which difference in salary, continued many years, the Congress saved, *if they accept it*, £700 *sterling a year.*

He served as *consul* entirely several years, till the arrival of Mr. Barclay, and even after, as that gentleman was obliged to be much and long absent in Holland, Flanders, and England; during which absence, what business of the kind occurred, still came to Mr. Franklin.

He served, though without any special commission for the purpose, as a *judge of admiralty;* for, the Congress having sent him a quantity of blank commissions for privateers, he granted them to cruisers fitted out in the ports of France, some of them manned by old smugglers, who knew every creek on the coast of England, and, running all round the island, distressed the British coasting trade exceedingly, and raised their general insurance. One of those privateers alone, the *Black Prince*, took in the course of a year seventy-five sail! All the papers, taken in each prize brought in, were in virtue of an order of council sent up to Mr. Franklin, who was to examine them, judge of the legality of the capture, and write to the admiralty of the port, that he found the prize good, and that the sale might be permitted. These papers, which are very voluminous, he has to produce.

He served also as *merchant*, to make purchases, and direct the shipping of stores to a very great value, for which he has charged no commission.

But the part of his service which was the most fatiguing

and confining, was that of receiving and accepting, after a due and necessary examination, the bills of exchange drawn by Congress for interest money, to the amount of *two millions and a half of livres annually;* multitudes of the bills very small, each of which, the smallest, gave as much trouble in examining, as the largest. And this careful examination was found absolutely necessary, from the constant frauds attempted by presenting *seconds* and *thirds* for payment after the *firsts* had been discharged. As these bills were arriving more or less by every ship and every post, they required constant attendance. Mr. Franklin could make no journey for exercise, as had been annually his custom, and the confinement brought on a malady that is likely to afflict him while he lives.

In short, though he has always been an active man, he never went through so much business during eight years, in any part of his life, as during those of his residence in France; which however he did not decline till he saw peace happily made, and found himself in the eightieth year of his age; when, if ever, a man has some right to expect repose.

To the President of Congress, dated Philadelphia, 29 Nov., 1788.

When I had the honor of being the Minister of the United States at the court of France, Mr. Barclay, arriving there, brought me the following resolution of Congress.

"Resolved, that a commissioner be appointed by Congress with full power and authority to liquidate, and *finally to settle*, the accounts of all the servants of the United States, who have been intrusted with the expenditure of public money in Europe, and to commence and prosecute such suits, causes, and actions as may be necessary for the pur-

pose, or for the recovery of any property of the said United States in the hands of any person, or persons, whatsoever.

"That the said commissioner be authorized to appoint one or more clerks, with such allowance as he may think reasonable.

"That the said commissioner and clerks, respectively, take an oath before some person duly authorized to administer an oath, faithfully to execute the trust reposed in them respectively.

"Congress proceeded to the election of a commissioner, and, ballots being taken, Mr. Thomas Barclay was elected."

In pursuance of this resolution, and as soon as Mr. Barclay was at leisure from more pressing business, I rendered to him all my accounts, which he examined, and stated methodically. By this statement he found a balance due to me on the 4th of May, 1785, of 7,533 livres, 19 sols, 3 deniers, which I accordingly received of the Congress banker; the difference between my statement and his being only seven sols, which by mistake I had overcharged; about three pence half penny sterling.

At my request, however, the accounts were left open for the consideration of Congress, and not finally settled, there being some articles on which I desired their judgment, and having some equitable demands, as I thought them, for extra services, which he had not conceived himself empowered to allow, and therefore I did not put them in my account. He transmitted the accounts to Congress, and had advice of their being received. On my arrival at Philadelphia, one of the first things I did was to despatch my grandson, William T. Franklin, to New York, to obtain a final settlement of those accounts; he, having long acted as my secretary, and being well acquainted with the

transactions, was able to give an explanation of the articles, that might seem to require explaining, if any such there were. He returned without effecting the settlement, being told, that it could not be made till the arrival of some documents expected from France. What those documents were, I have not been informed, nor can I readily conceive, as all the vouchers existing there had been examined by Mr. Barclay. And I, having been immediately after my arrival engaged in the public business of this State, waited in expectation of hearing from Congress, in case any part of my accounts had been objected to.

It is now more than three years that those accounts have been before that honorable body, and, to this day, no notice of any such objection has been communicated to me. But reports have, for some time past, been circulated here, and propagated in the newspapers, that I am greatly indebted to the United States for large sums, that had been put into my hands, and that I avoid a settlement. This, together with the little time one of my age may expect to live, makes it necessary for me to request earnestly, which I hereby do, that the Congress would be pleased, without further delay, to examine those accounts, and if they find therein any article or articles, which they do not understand or approve, that they would cause me to be acquainted with the same, that I may have an opportunity of offering such explanations or reasons in support of them as may be in my power, and then that the accounts may be finally closed.

I hope the Congress will soon be able to attend to this business for the satisfaction of the public, as well as in condescension to my request. In the mean time, if there be no impropriety in it, I would desire that this letter, together

with another* relating to the same subject, the copy of which is hereto annexed, may be put upon their minutes. With every sentiment of respect and duty to Congress, I am, Sir, &c.†

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* See the letter to Mr. Barclay, dated Paris, 19 June, 1785.—ED.

† The requests contained in this letter were never complied with. Some months afterwards Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, wrote to him as follows.

"Dear Sir; I am sorry to inform you, that the apprehensions suggested in my last are realized. The delegates, whom the States appointed to conduct the business of the Union in Congress till the meeting of the new government, have not assembled in sufficient number to form a House. Consequently there was no opportunity of laying your letter before them, and getting it inserted on their minutes. I now wish to be informed what is to be done with it; whether you would desire it to remain among the other papers of the late Congress, or have it returned to you. I shall wait your orders. In the mean while accept a fresh assurance of the sincere esteem and regard with which I am, &c."—*New York, March 7th*, 1789.

There is no evidence that any farther efforts were made by Dr. Franklin to obtain justice from Congress. On the 1st of April, 1789, a sufficient number of members had assembled to organize the Congress under the new Constitution; but there is no record in the Journals which shows that the above letter to the President of the old Congress was ever laid before that body, or that the subject was in any manner brought into consideration. Dr. Franklin's accounts, therefore, remained unsettled till his death, notwithstanding his repeated solicitations to have them examined, adjusted, and closed. No allowance was ever granted for the "equitable demands for extra services," to which he thought himself entitled, nor were the grounds of them even made a subject of inquiry; no vote of thanks or approbation was passed for his long, steady, and most successful labors in the cause of his country. These evidences of ingratitude and neglect are humiliating, but history should speak with an impartial voice. When time has cooled the heat of passion, and the feuds of party are forgotten, men will be judged by their acts. As affording some explanation of the tardiness of Congress in attending to Dr. Franklin's accounts, it is enough to say, that Mr. Arthur Lee was one of the Commissioners of the Treasury by whom those accounts were first to be examined.—S.

CHAPTER XIII.

Retirement from Public Life—Remedy for Deafness—Death of the Good Bishop—Penalties of Old Age—Farewell to Washington—The Perils of too Good Credit—The Slave Trade—Noah Webster—Franklin's Religious Views—Last Illness—And Death.

1789–1790.

To Alexander Small, dated Philadelphia, 17 Feb., 1789.

I HAVE just received your kind letter of November 29th, and am much obliged by your friendly attention in sending me the receipt, which on occasion I may make trial of; but the stone I have being a large one, as I find by the weight it falls with when I turn in bed, I have no hope of its being dissoluble by any medicine; and having been for some time past pretty free from pain, I am afraid of tampering. I congratulate you on the escape you had by avoiding the one you mention, that was as big as a kidney bean; had it been retained, it might soon have become too large to pass, and proved the cause of much pain at times, as mine has been to me.

Having served my time of three years as president, I have now renounced all public business, and enjoy the *otium cum dignitate.* My friends indulge me with their frequent visits, which I have now leisure to receive and

enjoy. The Philosophical Society, and the Society for Political Inquiries, meet at my house, which I have enlarged by additional building, that affords me a large room for those meetings, another over it for my library now very considerable, and over all some lodging rooms. I have seven promising grandchildren by my daughter, who play with and amuse me, and she is a kind attentive nurse to me when I am at any time indisposed; so that I pass my time as agreeably as at my age a man may well expect, and have little to wish for, except a more easy exit than my malady seems to threaten.

The deafness you complain of gives me concern, as if great it must diminish considerably your pleasure in conversation. If moderate, you may remedy it easily and readily, by putting your thumb and fingers behind your ear, pressing it outwards, and enlarging it, as it were, with the hollow of your hand. By an exact experiment I found, that I could hear the tick of a watch at forty-five feet distance by this means, which was barely audible at twenty feet without it. The experiment was made at midnight when the house was still.

I am glad you have sent those directions respecting ventilation to the Edinburgh Society. I hope you have added an account of the experience you had of it at Minorca. If they do not print your paper, send it to me, and it shall be in the third volume, which we are about to publish, of our Transactions.

Mrs. Hewson joins with us in best wishes for your health and happiness. Her eldest son has gone through his studies at our college, and taken his degree. The youngest is still there, and will be graduated this summer.

To Mrs. Catherine Greene, dated Philadelphia, 2 March, 1789.

I am, as you suppose in the abovementioned old letter, much pleased to hear, that my young friend Ray is "smart in the farming way," and makes such substantial fences. I think agriculture the most honorable of all employments, being the most independent. The farmer has no need of popular favor, nor the favor of the great; the success of his crops depending only on the blessing of God upon his honest industry. I congratulate your good spouse, that he, as well as myself, is now free from public cares, and that he can bend his whole attention to his farming, which will afford him both profit and pleasure; a business which nobody knows better how to manage with advantage.

I am too old to follow printing again myself, but loving the business, I have brought up my grandson Benjamin to it, and have built and furnished a printing-house for him, which he now manages under my eye.* I have great pleasure in the rest of my grandchildren, who are now in number eight, and all promising, the youngest only six months old, but shows signs of great good nature. My friends here are numerous, and I enjoy as much of their conversation as I can reasonably wish; and I have as much health and cheerfulness, as can well be expected at my age, now eighty-three. Hitherto this long life has been tolerably happy; so that, if I were allowed to live it over again, I should make no objection, only wishing for leave to do, what authors do in a second edition of their works, correct some of my *errata*. Among the felicities of my life I

* This printing establishment was left by his will to his grandson, who afterwards became a journalist of some note, but died young.—ED.

reckon your friendship, which I shall remember with pleasure as long as that life lasts.

To Miss Catherine Louisa Shipley, dated Philadelphia, 27 April, 1789.

It is only a few days since the kind letter of my dear young friend,* dated December 24th, came to my hands. I had before, in the public papers, met with the afflicting news that

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* The Bishop of St. Asaph died in London, on the 9th of December, 1788. The following is the letter about it referred to in the text:

MISS CATHERINE LOUISA SHIPLEY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Bolton Street, 24 December, 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It is a great while since I wrote to you, and still longer since I heard from you; but I have now a particular pleasure in writing to one, who had long known and loved the dear good parent I have lost. You will probably, before you receive this, have heard of my father's death; his illness was short, and terminated in an apoplexy. He was seldom perfectly in his senses for the last four days, but such constant calmness and composure could only have attended the deathbed of a truly good man. How unlike the ideas I had formed to myself of death, which, till now, I had only seen at a distance, and heard of with terror. The nearer his last moment approached, the more his ideas seemed elevated; and, but for those whom living he had loved with tenderness, and dying he still felt interested for, he showed no regret at leaving this world. I believe his many virtues have called down a blessing on his family, for we have all been supported under this severe affliction beyond what I could have imagined; and, though sorrow will for a time get the better of every other sensation, I feel *now* that the strongest impression left by his death is the desire of imitating his virtues in an humbler sphere of life.

My dear mother's health, I hope, will not have suffered materially; and she has every consolation to be derived from the reflection, that, for forty-five years, it was the study of her life to make the best of husbands happy. He, in return, has shown that his attention to *her* ease and comfort did not end with his life. He was happily preserved to us so long as to be able to leave all his family in good circumstances. I fancy my mother, Bessy, and I, shall live at Twyford, but at present no place is settled.

May I flatter myself, that you will still feel some affection for the family of your good old friend, and let me have the happiness of hearing it from

letter contained. That excellent man has then left us! His departure is a loss, not to his family and friends only, but to his nation, and to the world; for he was intent on doing good, had wisdom to devise the means, and talents to promote them. His "Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel," and his "Speech intended to have been spoken," are proofs of his ability as well as humanity. Had his counsels in those pieces been attended to by the ministers, how much bloodshed might have been prevented, and how much expense and disgrace to the nation avoided!

Your reflections on the constant calmness and composure attending his death are very sensible. Such instances seem to show, that the good sometimes enjoy in dying a foretaste of the happy state they are about to enter.

According to the course of years, I should have quitted this world long before him. I shall however not be long in following. I am now in my eighty-fourth year, and the last year has considerably enfeebled me; so that I hardly expect to remain another. You will then, my dear friend, consider this as probably the last line to be received from me, and as a taking leave. Present my best and most sincere respects to your good mother, and love to the rest of the family, to whom I wish all happiness.

To Richard Price, dated Philadelphia, 31 May, 1789.

I lately received your kind letter, enclosing one from Miss Kitty Shipley, informing me of the good Bishop's decease, which afflicted me greatly. My friends drop off one after another, when my

yourself? I shall request Dr. Price to send this letter. My mother, brother, and sisters, beg to be all most kindly remembered. Believe me, dear Sir, your faithful and obliged CATHERINE LOUISA SHIPLEY.

age and infirmities prevent my making new ones; and, if I still retain the necessary activity and ability, I hardly see among the existing generation where I could make them of equal goodness. So that the longer I live I must expect to be the more wretched. As we draw nearer the conclusion of life, nature furnishes us with more helps to wean us from it, among which one of the most powerful is the loss of such dear friends.

I send you with this the two volumes of our Transactions, as I forget whether you had the first before. If you had, you will please to give this to the French Ambassador, requesting his conveyance of it to the good Duke de la Rochefoucauld.

To Benjamin Vaughan, dated Philadelphia, 3 June, 1789.

I received your kind letter of March 4th, and wish I may be able to complete what you so earnestly desire, the Memoirs of my Life. But of late I am so interrupted by extreme pain, which obliges me to have recourse to opium, that, between the effects of both, I have but little time in which I can write any thing. My grandson, however, is copying what is done, which will be sent to you for your opinion by the next vessel; and not merely for your opinion, but for your advice; for I find it a difficult task to speak decently and properly of one's own conduct; and I feel the want of a judicious friend to encourage me in scratching out.

I have condoled sincerely with the Bishop of St. Asaph's family. He was an excellent man. Losing our friends thus one by one, is the tax we pay for long living; and it is indeed a heavy one.

I have not seen the King of Prussia's posthumous works; what you mention makes me desirous to have them. Please

to mention it to your brother William, and that I request him to add them to the books I have desired him to buy for me.

Our new government is now in train, and seems to promise well. But events are in the hand of God.

To President Washington, dated Philadelphia, 3 June, 1789.

I have made it a rule to myself that your Excellency should not be troubled with any solicitations from me for favours to any even of my nearest connections, but here is a matter of justice in which the honour of our country is concerned, and therefore I cannot refuse giving this line for your information. Mr. Le Ray de Chaumont, father of the young gentleman who will have the honour of waiting on you with this, was the first in France who gave us credit, and before the court showed us any countenance, trusted us with 2000 barrels of gun powder, and from time to time afterwards exerted himself to furnish the Congress with supplies of various kinds, which for want of due returns, they being of great amount, has finally much distressed him in his circumstances. Young Mr. Chaumont has now been here near four years soliciting a settlement of the accounts, merely; and though the payment of the balance would to be sure be very acceptable, yet proposing to refer that to the time when it shall better suit the convenience of our government. This settlement, if the father had it to show, would tend to quiet his creditors, and might be made use of for that purpose; but his son has not hitherto been able to obtain it, and is detained in this country at an expense that answers no end. He hopes however now that your Excellency may by your influence prevail, to have some settlement speedily made of those accounts, that he may

carry home to his father the statement of them; and I the rather hope this likewise, that we may thereby be freed from the imputation of adding ingratitude to injustice.

To M. Le Veillard, dated Philadelphia, 5 Sept., 1789.

It is long since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, the last letter I have received being dated the 21st of February; but when I have no new letter from you, I console myself by reading over some of the old ones, as I have lately done those of the 1st April, 1788, and the 10th of October, and 27th November, 1788. Every time I read what you have written, I receive fresh pleasure. I have already answered those last mentioned letters, and now have before me that of the 21st of February only. I am sorry my friend Morris failed in the attention he ought to have shown you; but I hope you will excuse it when you consider that an American transported from the tranquil villages of his country and set down in the tourbillon of such a great city must necessarily be for some days half out of his senses.

I hope you have perfectly recovered of your fall at Madame Helvetius's, and that you now enjoy perfect health; as to mine, I can give you no good account. I have a long time been afflicted with almost constant and grievous pain, to combat which I have been obliged to have recourse to opium, which indeed has afforded me some ease from time to time, but then it has taken away my appetite and so impeded my digestion that I am become totally emaciated, so that little remains of me but a skeleton covered with a skin.

In this situation I have not been able to continue my Memoirs, and now I suppose I shall never finish them. Benjamin has made a copy of what is done, for you, which shall be sent by the first safe opportunity. I make no remarks

to you concerning your public affairs, being too remote to form just opinions concerning them; indeed, I wonder that you, who are at the same distance from us, make so very few mistakes in your judgment of our affairs. At present we think them in a good way, the Congress are employed in amending some of the faults supposed to be in our constitution, and it is expected that in a few weeks the machine will be in orderly motion. The piece of M. Target, which you mention as having sent me, is not come to hand. I am sorry to hear of the scarcity which has afflicted your country. We have had here a most plentiful harvest of all the productions of the earth without exception, and I suppose some supplies will be sent you from hence, though the term during which the importation was admitted was too short, considering the distance.

My family join in every affectionate sentiment respecting you and yours, with your sincere friend.

To George Washington, dated Philadelphia, 16 Sept., 1789.

My malady renders my sitting up to write rather painful to me; but I cannot let my son-in-law, Mr. Bache, part for New York, without congratulating you by him on the recovery of your health, so precious to us all, and on the growing strength of our new government under your administration. For my own personal ease, I should have died two years ago; but, though those years have been spent in excruciating pain, I am pleased that I have lived them, since they have brought me to see our present situation. I am now finishing my eighty-fourth year, and probably with it my career in this life; but whatever state of existence I am placed in hereafter, if I retain any memory of what has passed here, I shall with it retain the esteem, respect, and

affection, with which I have long been, my dear friend, yours most sincerely.*

To Benjamin Vaughan, dated Philadelphia, 2 Nov., 1789.

I thank you much for your intimations of the virtues of hemlock, but I have tried so many things with so little effect, that I am quite discouraged, and have no longer any faith in remedies for the stone. The palliating system is what I am now fixed in. Opium gives me ease when I am attacked by pain, and by the use of it I still make life at least tolerable. Not being able, however, to bear sitting to write, I now make use of the hand of one of my grandsons, dictating to him from my bed.

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* To this letter Franklin received the following reply:

"New York, 23 September, 1789.

"DEAR SIR,

"The affectionate congratulations on the recovery of my health, and the warm expressions of personal friendship, which were contained in your letter of the 16th instant, claim my gratitude. And the consideration, that it was written when you were afflicted with a painful malady, greatly increases my obligation for it.

"Would to God, my dear Sir, that I could congratulate you upon the removal of that excruciating pain, under which you labor, and that your existence might close with as much ease to yourself, as its continuance has been beneficial to our country and useful to mankind; or, if the united wishes of a free people, joined with the earnest prayers of every friend to science and humanity, could relieve the body from pains or infirmities, that you could claim an exemption on this score. But this cannot be, and you have within yourself the only resource to which we can confidently apply for relief, a philosophic mind.

"If to be venerated for benevolence, if to be admired for talents, if to be esteemed for patriotism, if to be beloved for philanthropy, can gratify the human mind, you must have the pleasing consolation to know, that you have not lived in vain. And I flatter myself that it will not be ranked among the least grateful occurrences of your life to be assured, that, so long as I retain my memory, you will be recollected with respect, veneration, and affection by your sincere friend,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

I wish, indeed, I had tried this method sooner; for so, I think, I might by this time have finished my Memoirs, in which I have made no progress for these six months past. I have now taken the resolution to endeavour completing them in this way of dictating to an amanuensis. What is already done, I now send you, with an earnest request that you and my good friend Dr. Price would be so good as to take the trouble of reading it, critically examining it, and giving me your candid opinion whether I had best publish or suppress it; and if the first, then what parts had better be expunged or altered. I shall rely upon your opinions, for I am now grown so old and feeble in mind, as well as body, that I cannot place any confidence in my own judgment. In the mean time, I desire and expect that you will not suffer any copy of it, or of any part of it, to be taken for any purpose whatever.

You present me with a pleasing idea of the happiness I might have enjoyed in a certain great house, and in the conversation of its excellent owner, and his well chosen guests, if I could have spent some more time in England. That is now become impossible. My best wishes, however, attend him and his amiable son, in whose promising virtues and abilities I am persuaded the father will find much satisfaction.

The revolution in France is truly surprising. I sincerely wish it may end in establishing a good constitution for that country. The mischiefs and troubles it suffers in the operation, however, give me great concern.

You request advice from me respecting your conduct and writings, and desire me to tell you their faults. As to your conduct, I know of nothing that looks like a fault, except your declining to act in any public station, although you are

certainly qualified to do much public good in many you must have had it in your power to occupy. In respect to your writings, your language seems to me to be good and pure, and your sentiments generally just; but your style or composition wants perspicuity, and this I think owing principally to a neglect of method. What I would therefore recommend to you is, that, before you sit down to write on any subject, you would spend some days in considering it, putting down at the same time, in short hints, every thought which occurs to you as proper to make a part of your intended piece. When you have thus obtained a collection of the thoughts, examine them carefully with this view, to find which of them is properest to be presented *first* to the mind of the reader, that he, being possessed of that, may the more easily understand it, and be better disposed to receive what you intend for the *second;* and thus I would have you put a figure before each thought, to mark its future place in your composition. For so, every preceding proposition preparing the mind for that which is to follow, and the reader often anticipating it, he proceeds with ease, and pleasure, and approbation, as seeming continually to meet with his own thoughts. In this mode you have a better chance for a perfect production; because, the mind attending first to the sentiments alone, next to the method alone, each part is likely to be better performed, and I think too in less time.

You see I give my counsel rather bluntly, without attempting to soften my manner of finding fault by any apology, which would give some people great offence; but in the present situation of affairs between us, when I am soliciting the advantage of your criticisms on a work of mine, it is perhaps my interest that you should be a little

offended, in order to produce a greater degree of wholesome severity. I think with you, that, if my Memoirs are to be published, an edition of them should be printed in England for that country, as well as here for this, and I shall gladly leave it to your friendly management.

We have now had one session of Congress under our new Constitution, which was conducted with, I think, a greater degree of temper, prudence, and unanimity, than could well have been expected, and our future prospects seem very favorable. The harvests of the last summer have been uncommonly plentiful and good; yet the produce bears a high price, from the great foreign demand. At the same time, immense quantities of foreign goods are crowded upon us, so as to overstock the market, and supply us with what we want at very low prices. A spirit of industry and frugality is also very generally prevailing, which, being the most promising sign of future national felicitv, gives me infinite satisfaction.

P.S. I have not received the Philosophical Transactions for the two or three last years. They are usually laid by for me at the Society's house, with my name upon them, and remain there till called for. I shall be much obliged to you, if you can conveniently take them up and send them to me.

Your mention of plagiarism puts me in mind of a charge of the same kind, which I lately saw in the "British Repository," concerning the Chapter of Abraham and the Stranger. Perhaps this is the attack your letter hints at, in which you defended me. The truth is, as I think you observe, that I never published that Chapter, and never claimed more credit from it, than what related to the style,

and the addition of the concluding threatening and promise. The publishing of it by Lord Kames, without my consent, deprived me of a good deal of amusement, which I used to take in reading it by heart out of my Bible, and obtaining the remarks of the Scripturians upon it, which were sometimes very diverting; not but that it is in itself, on account of the importance of its moral, well worth being made known to all mankind.* When I wrote that in the form you now have it, I wrote also another, the hint of which was also taken from an ancient Jewish tradition; but, not having the same success with it as the other, I laid it aside, and have not seen it for thirty years past, till within these few days a lady of my acquaintance furnished me with a copy, which she had preserved. I think however it is not a bad one, and send it to you enclosed. ——

To John Wright, London, dated Philadelphia, 4 Nov., 1789.

We are now in the full enjoyment of our new government for *eleven* of the States, and it is generally thought that North Carolina is about to join it. Rhode Island will probably take longer time for consideration.

We have had a most plentiful year for the fruits of the earth, and our people seem to be recovering fast from the extravagance and idle habits, which the war had introduced; and to engage seriously in the country habits of temperance, frugality, and industry, which give the most pleasing prospect of future national felicity. Your merchants, however, are, I think, imprudent in crowding in upon us such quantities of goods for sale here, which are not written for by ours, and are beyond the faculties of this

* See vol. i. p. 405, note.—ED.

country to consume in any reasonable time. This surplus of goods is, therefore, to raise present money, sent to the vendues, or auction-houses, of which we have six or seven in and near this city; where they are sold frequently for less than prime cost, to the great loss of the indiscreet adventurers. Our newspapers are doubtless to be seen at your coffee-houses near the Exchange. In their advertisements you may observe the constancy and quantity of this kind of sales; as well as the quantity of goods imported by our regular traders. I see in your English newspapers frequent mention of our being out of credit with you; to us it appears, that we have abundantly too much, and that your exporting merchants are rather out of their senses.

I wish success to your endeavours for obtaining an abolition of the Slave Trade. The epistle from your Yearly Meeting, for the year 1758, was not the *first sowing* of the good seed you mention; for I find by an old pamphlet in my possession, that George Keith, near a hundred years since, wrote a paper against the practice, said to be "given forth by the appointment of the meeting held by him, at Philip James's house, in the city of Philadelphia, about the year 1693;" wherein a strict charge was given to Friends, "that they should set their negroes at liberty, after some reasonable time of service, &c. &c." And about the year 1728, or 1729, I myself printed a book for Ralph Sandyford, another of your Friends in this city, against keeping negroes in slavery; two editions of which he distributed gratis. And about the year 1736, I printed another book on the same subject for Benjamin Lay, who also professed being one of your Friends, and he distributed the books chiefly among them. By these instances it appears, that the seed was indeed sown in the good ground of your pro-

fession, though much earlier than the time you mention, and its springing up to effect at last, though so late, is some confirmation of Lord Bacon's observation, that *a good motion never dies;* and it may encourage us in making such, though hopeless of their taking immediate effect.

I doubt whether I shall be able to finish my Memoirs, and, if I finish them, whether they will be proper for publication. You seem to have too high an opinion of them, and to expect too much from them.

I think you are right in preferring a mixed form of government for your country, under its present circumstances; and if it were possible for you to reduce the enormous salaries and emoluments of great officers, which are at bottom the source of all your violent factions, that form might be conducted more quietly and happily; but I am afraid, that none of your factions, when they get uppermost, will ever have virtue enough to reduce those salaries and emoluments, but will rather choose to enjoy them.

To Samuel Moore, dated Philadelphia, 5 Nov., 1789.

I am obliged by your kind inquiries after my health, which is still tolerably good, the stone excepted; my constitution being such, as, if it were not for that malady, might have held out yet some years longer.

I hope the fire of liberty, which you mention as spreading itself over Europe, will act upon the inestimable rights of man, as common fire does upon gold; purify without destroying them; so that a lover of liberty may find *a country* in any part of Christendom.

I see with pleasure in the public prints, that our Society*

* The London Society for Promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, of which Mr. Moore was Secretary.—S.

is still kept up and flourishes. I was an early member; for, when Mr. Shipley sent me a list of the subscribers, they were but seventy; and, though I had no expectation then of going to England, and acting with them, I sent a contribution of twenty guineas; in consideration of which the Society were afterwards pleased to consider me a member.

To Alexander Smith, dated Philadelphia, 5 Nov., 1789.

I have long been of your opinion, that your legal provision for the poor is a very great evil, operating as it does to the encouragement of idleness. We have followed your example, and begin now to see our error, and, I hope, shall reform it. I find by your letters, that every man has patience enough to bear calmly and coolly the injuries done to other people.* You have perfectly forgiven the royalists, and you seem to wonder, that we should still retain any resentment against them for their joining with the savages to burn our houses, and murder and scalp our friends, our wives, and our children. I forget who it was that said, "We are commanded to forgive our enemies, but we are nowhere commanded to forgive our friends." Certain it is, however, that atrocious injuries done to us by our friends are naturally more deeply resented than the same done by enemies. They have left us, to live under the government of their King in England and Nova Scotia. We do not miss them, nor wish their return; nor do we envy them their present happiness.

The accounts you give me of the great prospects you

* Dean Swift had already said that he never knew a man who could not bear the misfortunes of another like a Christian.—ED.

have respecting your manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, are pleasing to me; for I still love England and wish it prosperity. You tell me, that the government of France is abundantly punished for its treachery to England in assisting us. You might also have remarked, that the government of England had been punished for its treachery to France in assisting the Corsicans, and in seizing her ships in time of full peace, without any previous declaration of war. I believe governments are pretty near equal in honesty, and cannot with much propriety praise their own in preference to that of their neighbours.

You do me too much honor in naming me with Timoleon. I am like him only in retiring from my public labors; which indeed my stone, and other infirmities of age, have made indispensably necessary.

I hope you are by this time returned from your visit to your native country, and that the journey has given a firmer consistence to your health. Mr. Penn's property in this country, which you inquire about, is still immensely great; and I understand he has received ample compensation in England for the part he lost.

I think you have made a happy choice of rural amusements; the protection of the bees, and the destruction of the hop insect. I wish success to your experiments, and shall be glad to hear the result. Your Theory of Insects appears the most ingenious and plausible of any, that have hitherto been proposed by philosophers.

Our new Constitution is now established with *eleven* States, and the accession of a twelfth is soon expected. We have had one session of Congress under it, which was conducted with remarkable prudence, and a good deal of unanimity. Our late harvests were plentiful, and our

produce still fetches a good price, through an abundant foreign demand and the flourishing state of our commerce.*

* No one perhaps, save Washington, took greater interest in the adoption of the new Federal Constitution than Franklin. He lost no opportunity, by correspondence, by personal instance, or through the press, to commend it to public favor. Whenever a new State acceded to it, the fact became one of the staples of his letters to all his correspondents. When ten States had signified their acceptance, there was a public celebration of the event in Philadelphia, which meant, of course, a grand procession of all the trades and professions, a dinner,—or, as it was the fashion to call such entertainments, a banquet,—and an oration. One James Wilson was the orator on this occasion.

The printing fraternity rode in the procession upon a vast wagon, upon which they had placed a printing-press, and, as it moved along, the following lines from the indefatigable pen of Franklin were struck off and distributed wet to the people. Milton or Bryant would have written better verses, but neither could have written any thing better suited to the purpose these were designed to serve.

"Ye tailors! of ancient and noble renown,
Who clothe all the people in country and town,
Remember that Adam, your master and head,
Though lord of the world, was a tailor by trade.

"Ye shoemakers! noble from ages long past,
Have defended your rights with your *awl* to the *last;*
And cobblers so merry, not only stop holes,
But work night and day for the good of your *soles.*

"The hatters! who oft, with hands not very fair,
Fix hats on a block for a blockhead to wear,
Though charity covers a sin now and then,
You cover the heads and the sin of all men.

"And carders and spinners, and weavers attend,
And take the advice of Poor Richard your friend,
Stick close to your looms, your wheels and your card,
And you never need fear of the times being hard.

"Ye coopers! who rattle with drivers and adz,
A lecture each day upon hoops and on heads,
The famous old ballad of Love in a Tub,
You may sing to the tune of your rub-a-dub-dub.

"Each tradesman turn out with his tools in his hand,
To cherish the arts and keep peace in the land;
Each prentice and journeyman join in my song,
And let the brisk chorus go bounding along."

To David Hartley dated Philadelphia, 4 Dec., 1789.

I received your favor of August last. Your kind condolences on the painful state of my health are very obliging. I am thankful to God, however, that among the numerous ills human life is subject to, one only of any importance is fallen to my lot; and that so late as almost to insure that it can be but of short duration.

The convulsions in France are attended with some disagreeable circumstances; but if by the struggle she obtains and secures for the nation its future liberty, and a good constitution, a few years' enjoyment of those blessings will amply repay all the damages their acquisition may have occasioned. God grant, that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface, and say, "This is my country."

To Mrs. Jane Mecom, dated Philadelphia, 17 Dec., 1789.

You tell me you are desired by an acquaintance to ask my opinion, whether the general circumstances mentioned in the history of Baron Trenck are founded in fact; to which I can only answer, that, of the greatest part of those circumstances, the scene being laid in Germany, I must consequently be very ignorant; but of what he says as having passed in France, between the ministers of that country, himself, and me, I can speak positively, that it is *founded in falsehood*, and that the fact can only serve to confound, as I never saw him in that country, nor ever knew or heard of him anywhere, till I met with the abovementioned history in print, in the German language, in which he ventured to relate it as a fact, that I had, with those ministers, solicited him to

enter into the American service. A translation of that book into French has since been printed, but the translator has omitted that pretended fact, probably from an apprehension, that its being in that country known not to be true might hurt the credit and sale of the translation.

I thank you for the sermon on Sacred Music. I have read it with pleasure. I think it a very ingenious composition. You will say this is natural enough, if you read what I have formerly written on the same subject in one of my printed letters, wherein you will find a perfect agreement of sentiment respecting the complex music, of late, in my opinion, too much in vogue; it being only pleasing to learned ears, which can be delighted with the difficulty of execution, instead of harmony and melody.

To Noah Webster, dated Philadelphia, 26 Dec., 1789.

I received some time since your "Dissertations on the English Language." The book was not accompanied by any letter or message, informing me to whom I am obliged for it, but I suppose it is to yourself. It is an excellent work, and will be greatly useful in turning the thoughts of our countrymen to correct writing. Please to accept my thanks for the great honor you have done me in its dedication. I ought to have made this acknowledgment sooner, but much indisposition prevented me.

I cannot but applaud your zeal for preserving the purity of our language, both in its expressions and pronunciation, and in correcting the popular errors several of our States are continually falling into with respect to both. Give me leave to mention some of them, though possibly they may have already occurred to you. I wish, however, in some future publication of yours, you would set a discoun-

nancing mark upon them. The first I remember is the word *improved.* When I left New England, in the year 1723, this word had never been used among us, as far as I know, but in the sense of *ameliorated* or made better, except once in a very old book of Dr. Mather's, entitled "Remarkable Providences." As that eminent man wrote a very obscure hand, I remember that when I read that word in his book, used instead of the word *imployed,* I conjectured it was an error of the printer, who had mistaken a too short *l* in the writing for an *r,* and a *y* with too short a tail for a *v;* whereby *imployed* was converted into *improved.*

But when I returned to Boston, in 1733, I found this change had obtained favor, and was then become common; for I met with it often in perusing the newspapers, where it frequently made an appearance rather ridiculous. Such, for instance, as the advertisement of a country-house to be sold, which had been many years *improved* as a tavern; and, in the character of a deceased country gentleman, that he had been for more than thirty years *improved* as a justice of the peace. This use of the word *improved* is peculiar to New England, and not to be met with among any other speakers of English, either on this or the other side of the water.

During my late absence in France, I find that several other new words have been introduced into our parliamentary language; for example, I find a verb formed from the substantive *notice; I should not have* NOTICED *this, were it not that the gentleman,* &c. Also another verb from the substantive *advocate; The gentleman who* ADVOCATES *or has* ADVOCATED *that motion,* &c. Another from the substantive *progress,* the most awkward and abominable of the three; *The committee, having* PROGRESSED, *resolved to adjourn.* The word *opposed,* though not a new word, I find used in a new

manner, as, *The gentlemen who are* OPPOSED *to this measure; to which I have also myself always been* OPPOSED. If you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reprobating them.

The Latin language, long the vehicle used in distributing knowledge among the different nations of Europe, is daily more and more neglected; and one of the modern tongues, viz. the French, seems in point of universality to have supplied its place. It is spoken in all the courts of Europe; and most of the literati, those even who do not speak it, have acquired knowledge enough of it to enable them easily to read the books that are written in it. This gives a considerable advantage to that nation; it enables its authors to inculcate and spread throughout other nations such sentiments and opinions on important points, as are most conducive to its interests, or which may contribute to its reputation by promoting the common interests of mankind. It is perhaps owing to its being written in French, that Voltaire's treatise on "Toleration" has had so sudden and so great an effect on the bigotry of Europe, as almost entirely to disarm it. The general use of the French language has likewise a very advantageous effect on the profits of the bookselling branch of commerce, it being well known, that the more copies can be sold that are struck off from one composition of types, the profits increase in a much greater proportion than they do in making a great number of pieces in any other kind of manufacture. And at present there is no capital town in Europe without a French bookseller's shop corresponding with Paris.

Our English bids fair to obtain the second place. The great body of excellent printed sermons in our language,

and the freedom of our writings on political subjects, have induced a number of divines of different sects and nations, as well as gentlemen concerned in public affairs, to study it; so far at least as to read it. And if we were to endeavour the facilitating its progress, the study of our tongue might become much more general. Those, who have employed some parts of their time in learning a new language, have frequently observed, that, while their acquaintance with it was imperfect, difficulties small in themselves operated as great ones in obstructing their progress. A book, for example, ill printed, or a pronunciation in speaking, not well articulated, would render a sentence unintelligible; which, from a clear print or a distinct speaker, would have been immediately comprehended. If therefore we would have the benefit of seeing our language more generally known among mankind, we should endeavour to remove all the difficulties, however small, that discourage the learning it.

But I am sorry to observe, that, of late years, those difficulties, instead of being diminished; have been augmented. In examining the English books, that were printed between the Restoration and the accession of George the Second, we may observe, that all *substantives* were begun with a capital, in which we imitated our mother tongue, the German. This was more particularly useful to those, who were not well acquainted with the English; there being such a prodigious number of our words, that are both *verbs* and *substantives*, and spelled in the same manner, though often accented differently in the pronunciation.

This method has, by the fancy of printers, of late years been laid aside, from an idea, that suppressing the capitals shows the character to greater advantage; those letters

prominent above the line disturbing its even regular appearance. The effect of this change is so considerable, that a learned man of France, who used to read our books, though not perfectly acquainted with our language, in conversation with me on the subject of our authors, attributed the greater obscurity he found in our modern books, compared with those of the period above mentioned, to change of style for the worst in our writers; of which mistake I convinced him, by marking for him each *substantive* with a capital in a paragraph, which he then easily understood, though before he could not comprehend it. This shows the inconvenience of that pretended improvement.

From the same fondness for an even and uniform appearance of characters in the line, the printers have of late banished also the Italic types, in which words of importance to be attended to in the sense of the sentence, and words on which an emphasis should be put in reading, used to be printed. And lately another fancy has induced some printers to use the short round *s*, instead of the long one, which formerly served well to distinguish a word readily by its varied appearance. Certainly the omitting this prominent letter makes the line appear more even; but renders it less immediately legible; as the paring all men's noses might smooth and level their faces, but would render their physiognomies less distinguishable.

Add to all these improvements *backwards*, another modern fancy, that grey printing is more beautiful than black; hence the English new books are printed in so dim a character, as to be read with difficulty by old eyes, unless in a very strong light and with good glasses. Whoever compares a volume of the "Gentleman's Magazine," printed between the years 1731 and 1740, with one of

those printed in the last ten years, will be convinced of the much greater degree of perspicuity given by black ink than by grey. Lord Chesterfield pleasantly remarked this difference to Faulkener, the printer of the Dublin "Journal," who was vainly making encomiums on his own paper, as the most complete of any in the world; "But; Mr. Faulkener," said my Lord, "don't you think it might be still farther improved by using paper and ink not quite so near of a color?" For all these reasons I cannot but wish, that our American printers would in their editions avoid these fancied improvements, and thereby render their works more agreeable to foreigners in Europe, to the great advantage of our bookselling commerce.

Further, to be more sensible of the advantage of clear and distinct printing, let us consider the assistance it affords in reading well aloud to an auditory. In so doing the eye generally slides forward three or four words before the voice. If the sight clearly distinguishes what the coming words are, it gives time to order the modulation of the voice to express them properly. But, if they are obscurely printed, or disguised by omitting the capitals and long *s*'*s* or otherwise, the reader is apt to modulate wrong; and, finding he has done so, he is obliged to go back and begin the sentence again, which lessens the pleasure of the hearers.

This leads me to mention an old error in our mode of printing. We are sensible, that, when a question is met with in reading, there is a proper variation to be used in the management of the voice. We have therefore a point called an interrogation, affixed to the question in order to distinguish it. But this is absurdly placed at its end; so that the reader does not discover it, till he finds he has

wrongly modulated his voice, and is therefore obliged to begin again the sentence. To prevent this, the Spanish printers, more sensibly, place an interrogation at the beginning as well as at the end of a question. We have another error of the same kind in printing plays, where something often occurs that is marked as spoken *aside*. But the word *aside* is placed at the end of the speech, when it ought to precede it, as a direction to the reader, that he may govern his voice accordingly. The practice of our ladies in meeting five or six together to form a little busy party, where each is employed in some useful work while one reads to them, is so commendable in itself, that it deserves the attention of authors and printers to make it as pleasing as possible, both to the reader and hearers.

After these general observations, permit me to make one that I imagine may regard your interest. It is that *your Spelling Book* is miserably printed here, so as in many places to be scarcely legible, and on wretched paper. If this is not attended to, and the new one lately advertised as coming out should be preferable in these respects, it may hurt the future sale of yours.

To Ezra Stiles, dated Philadelphia, 9 March, 1790. I received your kind letter of January 28th,* and am glad you have at length received the portrait of Governor Yale from

* The note from President Stiles, to which this is a reply, was dated at Yale College, 28th January, 1790, and runs as follows:

"SIR,—We have lately received Governor Yale's portrait from his family in London, and deposited it in the College Library, where is also deposited one of Governor Saltonstall's. I have also long wished that we might be honored with that of Dr. Franklin. In the course of your long life, you may probably have become possessed of several portraits of yourself. Shall I take too great a liberty in humbly asking a donation of one of them to

his family, and deposited it in the College Library. He was a great and good man, and had the merit of doing infinite service to your country by his munificence to that institution. The honor you propose doing me by placing mine in the same room with his, is much too great for my deserts; but you always had a partiality for me, and to that it must be ascribed. I am however too much obliged to Yale College, the first learned society that took notice of me and adorned me with its honors, to refuse a request that comes from it through so esteemed a friend. But I do not think any one of the portraits you mention, as in my possession, worthy of the situation and company you

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Yale College? You obliged me with a mezzotinto picture of yourself many years ago, which I often view with pleasure. But the canvas is more permanent. We wish to be possessed of the durable resemblance of the American Patriot and Philosopher. You have merited and received all the honors of the republic of letters; and are going to a world, where all sublunary glories will be lost in the glories of immortality. Should you shine throughout the intellectual and stellary universe, with the eminence and distinguished lustre, with which you have appeared in this little detached part of the creation, you would be, what I most fervently wish to you, Sir, whatever may be my fate in eternity. The grand climacteric, in which I now am, reminds me of the interesting scenes of futurity.

"You know, Sir, that I am a Christian, and would to Heaven all others were such as I am, except my imperfections and deficiencies of moral character. As much as I know of Dr. Franklin, I have not an idea of his religious sentiments. I wish to know the opinion of my venerable friend concerning Jesus of Nazareth. He will not impute this to impertinence or improper curiosity, in one, who for so many years has continued to love, estimate, and reverence his abilities and literary character, with an ardor and affection bordering on adoration. If I have said too much, let the request be blotted out, and be no more; and yet I shall never cease to wish you that happy immortality, which I believe Jesus alone has purchased for the virtuous and truly good of every religious denomination in Christendom, and for those of every age, nation, and mythology, who reverence the Deity, are filled with integrity, righteousness, and benevolence. Wishing you every blessing, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

"EZRA STILES."

propose to place it in. You have an excellent artist lately arrived. If he will undertake to make one for you, I shall cheerfully pay the expense; but he must not delay setting about it, or I may slip through his fingers, for I am now in my eighty-fifth year, and very infirm.

I send with this a very learned work, as it seems to me, on the ancient Samaritan Coins, lately printed in Spain, and at least curious for the beauty of the impression. Please to accept it for your College Library. I have subscribed for the Encyclopædia now printing here, with the intention of presenting it to the College. I shall probably depart before the work is finished, but shall leave directions for its continuance to the end. With this you will receive some of the first numbers.

You desire to know something of my religion. It is the first time I have been questioned upon it. But I cannot take your curiosity amiss, and shall endeavour in a few words to gratify it. Here is my creed. I believe in one God, the creator of the universe. That he governs it by his Providence. That he ought to be worshipped. That the most acceptable service we render to him is doing good to his other children. That the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points in all sound religion, and I regard them as you do in whatever sect I meet with them.

As to Jesus of Nazareth, my opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think his system of morals and his religion, as he left them to us, the best the world ever saw or is like to see; but I apprehend it has received various corrupting changes, and I have, with most of the present Dissenters in England, some doubts as to his Divinity; though it is a

question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it, and think it needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an opportunity of knowing the truth with less trouble. I see no harm, however, in its being believed, if that belief has the good consequence, as probably it has, of making his doctrines more respected and more observed; especially as I do not perceive, that the Supreme takes it amiss, by distinguishing the unbelievers in his government of the world with any peculiar marks of his displeasure.

I shall only add, respecting myself, that, having experienced the goodness of that Being in conducting me prosperously through a long life, I have no doubt of its continuance in the next, though without the smallest conceit of meriting such goodness. My sentiments on this head you will see in the copy of an old letter enclosed,* which I wrote in answer to one from an old religionist, whom I had relieved in a paralytic case by electricity, and who, being afraid I should grow proud upon it, sent me his serious though rather impertinent caution. I send you also the copy of another letter,† which will show something of my disposition relating to religion.

P. S. Had not your College some present of books from the King of France? Please to let me know, if you had an expectation given you of more, and the nature of that expectation? I have a reason for the inquiry.

I confide, that you will not expose me to criticisms and censures by publishing any part of this communication to

* Probably the letter presumed to have been written to Whitefield, and dated Philadelphia, June 6, 1753.—ED.

† The letter here alluded to is probably the one supposed to have been written to Thomas Paine. See *supra*, p. 364.—ED.

you. I have ever let others enjoy their religious sentiments without reflecting on them for those that appeared to me unsupportable or even absurd. All sects here, and we have a great variety, have experienced my good will in assisting them with subscriptions for the building their new places of worship; and, as I have never opposed any of their doctrines, I hope to go out of the world in peace with them all.

To Mrs. Jane Mecom, dated Philadelphia, 24 March, 1790.

I received your kind letter by your good neighbour, Captain Rich. The information it contained, that you continue well, gave me, as usual, great pleasure. As to myself, I have been quite free from pain for near three weeks past; and therefore not being obliged to take any laudanum, my appetite has returned, and I have recovered some part of my strength. Thus I continue to live on, while all the friends of my youth have left me, and gone to join the majority. I have, however, the pleasure of continued friendship and conversation with their children and grandchildren. I do not repine at my malady, though a severe one, when I consider how well I am provided with every convenience to palliate it, and to make me comfortable under it; and how many more horrible evils the human body is subject to; and what a long life of health I have been blessed with, free from them all.

You have done well not to send me any more fish at present. These continue good, and give me pleasure.

Do you know any thing of our sister Scott's daughter; whether she is still living, and where? This family join in love to you and yours, and to cousins Williams, with your affectionate brother.

P. S. It is early in the morning, and I write in bed. The awkward position has occasioned the crooked lines.

To Thomas Jefferson, dated Philadelphia, 8 April, 1790.

I received your letter of the 31st of last past, relating to encroachments made on the eastern limits of the United States by settlers under the British government, pretending that it is the *western*, and not the *eastern* river of the Bay of Passamaquoddy which was designated by the name of St. Croix, in the treaty of peace with that nation; and requesting of me to communicate any facts which my memory or papers may enable me to recollect, and which may indicate the true river, which the commissioners on both sides had in their view, to establish as the boundary between the two nations.

Your letter found me under a severe fit of my malady, which prevented my answering it sooner, or attending, indeed, to any kind of business. I now can assure you, that I am perfectly clear in the remembrance that the map we used in tracing the boundary, was brought to the treaty by the commissioners from England, and that it was the same that was published by Mitchell above twenty years before. Having a copy of that map by me in loose sheets, I send you that sheet which contains the Bay of Passamaquoddy, where you will see that part of the boundary traced. I remember, too, that in that part of the boundary we relied much on the opinion of Mr. Adams, who had been concerned in some former disputes concerning those territories. I think, therefore, that you may obtain still further light from him.

That the map we used was Mitchell's map, Congress were acquainted at the time, by a letter to their Secretary

for Foreign Affairs, which I suppose may be found upon their files.*

* This letter, which was such a satisfactory test of the unabated strength of Franklin's memory, was written during the illness which was destined to prove his last, and only nine days before his death. He died on the 17th of April, 1790, aged eighty-four years and three months.

The following particulars of Dr. Franklin's last illness are taken from the edition of his Life and Writings published by William Temple Franklin, in 1817.

"During the greatest part of his life Dr. Franklin had enjoyed almost uninterrupted good health, and this he entirely attributed to his exemplary temperance.

"In the year 1735, indeed, he had been seized with a pleurisy, which ended in a suppuration of the left lobe of the lungs, so that he was almost suffocated by the quantity of matter thrown up. But from this, as well as from another attack of the same kind, he recovered so completely, that his breathing was not in the least affected.

"As he advanced in years, however, he become subject to fits of the gout, to which, in 1782, a nephritic colic was superadded. From this time, he was also affected with the stone, as well as the gout; and for the last twelve months of his life, these complaints almost entirely confined him to his bed.

"Notwithstanding his distressed situation, neither his mental faculties nor his natural cheerfulness ever forsook him. His memory was tenacious to the very last; and he seemed to be an exception to the general rule,—that at a certain period of life the organs which are subservient to this faculty become callous. A remarkable instance of which is, that he learned to speak French after he had attained the age of seventy!

"In the beginning of April, 1790, he was attacked with a fever and complaint of his breast, which terminated his existence. The following account of his last illness was written by his friend and physician, Dr. Jones.

"'The stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had for the last twelve months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extremely painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons who waited on him for that purpose; and in every instance displayed, not only that readiness and disposition of doing good, which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental

abilities; and not unfrequently indulged himself in those "jeux d'esprit" and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

"'About sixteen days before his death he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in the left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state when the severity of his pains drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raised him from small and low beginnings to such high rank and consideration among men—and made no doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it; but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm lethargic state succeeded—and, on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months.'"

In a letter from Dr. Rush to Dr. Price, dated at Philadelphia a week after Franklin's death, the writer says:

"The papers will inform you of the death of our late friend Dr. Franklin. The evening of his life was marked by the same activity of his moral and intellectual powers which distinguished its meridian. His conversation with his family upon the subject of his dissolution was free and cheerful. A few days before he died, he rose from his bed and begged that it might be made up for him so *that he might die in a decent manner.* His daughter told him that she hoped he would recover and live many years longer. He calmly replied, '*I hope not.*' Upon being advised to change his position in bed, that he might breathe easy, he said, '*A dying man can do nothing easy.*'

"All orders and bodies of people have vied with each other in paying tributes of respect to his memory."

His faithfullest of friends, dear Mrs. Hewson, writing to one of Dr. Franklin's oldest friends in England, thus spoke of her own and the nation's loss:

"We have lost that valued, that venerable, kind friend, whose knowledge enlightened our minds, and whose philanthropy warmed our hearts. But we have the consolation to think, that, if a life well spent in acts of universal benevolence to mankind, a grateful acknowledgement of Divine favor, a

patient submission under severe chastisement, and an humble trust in Almighty mercy, can insure the happiness of a future state, our present loss is his gain. I was the faithful witness of the closing scene, which he sustained with that calm fortitude which characterized him through life. No repining, no peevish expression, ever escaped him during a confinement of two years, in which, I believe, if every moment of ease could be added together, would not amount to two whole months. When the pain was not too violent to be amused, he employed himself with his books, his pen, or in conversation with his friends; and upon every occasion displayed the clearness of his intellect and the cheerfulness of his temper. Even when the intervals from pain were so short, that his words were frequently interrupted, I have known him to hold a discourse in a sublime strain of piety. I say this to you, because I know it will give you pleasure.

"I never shall forget one day that I passed with our friend last summer. I found him in bed in great agony; but, when that agony abated a little, I asked if I should read to him. He said, yes; and the first book I met with was Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets.' I read the 'Life of Watts,' who was a favorite author with Dr. Franklin; and, instead of lulling him to sleep, it roused him to a display of the powers of his memory and his reason. He repeated several of Watts's 'Lyric Poems,' and descanted upon their sublimity in a strain worthy of them and of their pious author. It is natural for us to wish that an attention to some ceremonies had accompanied that religion of the heart, which I am convinced Dr. Franklin always possessed; but let us, who feel the benefit of them, continue to practise them, without thinking lightly of that piety, which could support pain without a murmur, and meet death without terror."

More than a month elapsed before William Temple Franklin announced the decease of his grandfather to their old friend Le Veillard. It is difficult, even at this late day, to read with composure the excuses which he then assigned in the letter below for omitting all details of the last illness of his illustrious relative. This young man appears nowhere to so little advantage as in his utter inability to comprehend the nature and magnitude of his inheritance.

WILLIAM TEMPLE FRANKLIN TO M. LE VEILLARD.

Philadelphie, 22 Mai, 1790.

Vous avez déjà appris, mon cher ami, la perte que vous et moi, et tout le monde a essuez dans la mort de ce bon et aimable papa. Quoique nous l'attendions depuis longtemps, elle ne nous a pas moins choquée lorsqu'elle est arrivée. Il vous aimait bien tendrement, ainsi que toute votre famille, et je ne doute pas que vous ne partagerez mes justes douleurs. Je comptais vous écrire les détails de la mort par M. de Chaumont, mais l'occupation qu'elle me donne pour l'arrangement de ses affaires et surtout de ses papiers,

m'en ont empêché, et m'empêche même à présent de répondre à vos dernière lettres, ainsi qu'à celle que Mlle. votre fille a bien voulu m'écrire, en m'envoyant de son ouvrage. J'ai été on ne peut pas plus touché de cette marque de sa condescendance et de son amitié, et je vous prie de lui en témoigner ma reconnaissance en attendant que j'ai l'honneur de lui écrire, qui sera certainement par la première occasion pour France. Tout paresseux que je suis pour écrire, sa bonté m'éveillera. Cette lettre vous arrivera par la voie d'Angleterre. J'ai cru devoir profiter de cette occasion pour vous apprendre que mon ayeul, entre d'autres legs, m'a laissé *toûtes ses papiers et manuscrits*, avec la permission d'en tirer tout le profit qui sera en mon pouvoir. En conséquence, je vous prie très instament, mon cher ami, de ne pas montrer à qui que ce soit, cette partie de sa vie qu'il vous a envoyée il y à quelque tems, attendu que quelqu'un pourrait en tirer copie, et la publier, ce qui nuirait infiniment à la publication que je compte faire, aussitôt qu'il sera possible, de sa vie entière, et de ses autres ouvrages. Comme j'ai l'original icí de la partie que vous avez, il ne sera pas hécessaire de me l'envoyer, mais je vous prie toutefois de la mettre sous envellope, bien cachetée, et à mon addresse, pour qu'en cas d'accident elle ne passe pas en d'autres mains. Si cependant elle est nécessaire pour assister celui qui doit faire son Eloge à l'Académie, vous pouvez la prêter pour cela, avec stipulation qu'on n'en prendra pas copie, et d'autres precautions qui vous paraîtront nécessaires. On n'a pas encore nommé aux emplois en Europe; il est possible que j'en aurai un, ce que me mettrait à même d'assister à la publication des ouvrages de mon ayeul; mais quand même on ne pense pas à moi, il est très probable que je me résous de faire le voyage d'Europe, attendu que je suis bien persuadé d'en tirer plus de bénéfice de la publication en le faisant en Angleterre ou en France que dans ce pays-ci.

Adieu pour cette fois; dans deux ou trois semaines j'espère pouvoir vous écrire directement, ainsi qu'à mes autres amis, et amies en France.

Aimez-moi, mon cher ami; j'ai plus que jamais besoin de votre Amitié.

W. T. FRANKLIN.

For a translation of this letter, see Vol. I. p. 38.

The mortal remains of Dr. Franklin were interred in the cemetery of Christ Church, in Philadelphia, beside those of his wife, on the 21st day of April, 1790. A plain marble slab covers the two graves, pursuant to the directions of his will, with no other inscription than their names and the year of his decease.

No funeral in America had ever before been so numerously attended, and no customary testimonial of respect for the most illustrious dead was lacking on this occasion. Dr. Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, and David Rittenhouse, one of its members, were selected by the Philosophical Society to prepare a suitable tribute to the memory of its founder,

and President Stiles interpreted the sentiments of the collegiate institutions of the city in a Latin eulogy. On motion of Mr. Madison, it was unanimously resolved by Congress, then sitting in New York, "that the members should wear the customary badge of mourning for one month, as a mark of due veneration to the memory of a citizen whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his country."

A more unusual, if not more flattering, homage was paid to the memory of the deceased by the National Assembly of France.

On the morning after the news reached Paris, June 11th, Mirabeau rose and addressed the Assembly as follows:

"Franklin is dead!

"The genius, which gave freedom to America, and scattered torrents of light upon Europe, is returned to the bosom of the Divinity.

"The sage, whom two worlds claim; the man, disputed by the history of the sciences and the history of empires, holds, most undoubtedly, an elevated rank among the human species.

"Political cabinets have but too long notified the death of those who were never great but in their funeral orations; the etiquette of courts has but too long sanctioned hypocritical grief. Nations ought only to mourn for their benefactors; the representatives of free men ought never to recommend any other than the heroes of humanity to their homage.

"The Congress hath ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the fourteen confederated States, on account of the death of Franklin; and America hath thus acquitted her tribute of admiration in behalf of one of the fathers of her Constitution.

"Would it not be worthy of you, fellow-legislators, to unite yourselves in this religious act, to participate in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has so eminently propagated the conquest of them throughout the world?

"Antiquity would have elevated altars to that mortal, who for the advantage of the human race, embracing both heaven and earth in his vast and extensive mind, knew how to subdue thunder and tyranny.

"Enlightened and free, Europe at least owes its remembrance and its regret to one of the greatest men who has ever served the cause of philosophy and of liberty.

"I propose, that a decree do now pass, enacting, that the National Assembly shall wear mourning during three days for Benjamin Franklin."

La Rochefoucauld and Lafayette rose immediately to second the motion of the orator, which was adopted by acclamation. It was further resolved that the discourse of Mirabeau should be printed, and that the President of the Assembly, the Abbé Sieyes, should address a letter of condolence to the Congress of the United States.

"The name of Benjamin Franklin," said President Sieyes, in fulfilling the instructions of the Assembly, "will be immortal in the records of freedom and philosophy; but it is more particularly dear to a country where, conducted by the most sublime mission, this venerable man knew how very soon to acquire an infinite number of friends and admirers, as well by the simplicity and sweetness of his manners, as by the purity of his principles, the extent of his knowledge, and the charms of his mind."

To this letter, in compliance with the instructions of Congress, President Washington sent a reply, in which he said that "so peculiar and so signal an expression of the esteem of so respectable a body for a citizen of the United States, whose eminent and patriotic services are indelibly *engraved* on the minds of his countrymen, cannot fail to be appreciated by them as it ought to be."

Two days after the decree of the National Assembly, M. de la Rochefoucauld read to the "Society of 1789" a paper on the Life and Character of Franklin. The *Commune* of Paris also ordered a celebration in his honor, and invited the Abbé Fauchet to deliver a eulogy of the deceased, of which they sent twenty-six copies to Congress. Condorcet pronounced an elaborate eulogy also before the Académie des Sciences, on the 13th November. The printers of Paris testified their sense of the loss their calling had sustained by assembling in a large hall, in presence of a column surmounted by a bust of Franklin, with a civic crown upon his head, and surrounded by printers, cases, types, press, &c. And while one of their number delivered a eulogy, they printed it on the spot, and delivered copies of it to the vast concourse attracted by the occasion.

The city of Passy, then a suburb, but now one of the most attractive parts of the city of Paris, testified its respect for Franklin's memory by giving his name to one of its principal streets within less than a year after his decease, the impulse, no doubt, of his old friend Le Veillard, who was then mayor of that place. The motives for this step are officially set forth in the following extract from the official register, which was kindly furnished the editor by the custodian *des Archives de la Bibliothèque et des Travaux historiques*, at the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, in 1866:

"On Saturday, the third of September, of the year seventeen hundred and ninety-one, at seven o'clock in the morning. * * *

"The council-general offers no opposition to the execution of the decree relating to the inscriptions of the names of the streets, while observing that the old denominations be followed, with the exception of that running from the Grande Rue to the heretofore barrier of the Ladies of St. Mary, which not yet having received any name shall bear that of Franklin, in perpetual remembrance to the inhabitants of this municipality of the long sojourn of that eminent man in this parish."

As the register from which the foregoing is an extract was destroyed

with the Hôtel de Ville in 1871, and as there is probably no other record of this interesting deliberation now in existence save that from which I quote, I need offer no apology for giving the authenticated record at length in these pages.

Secrétariat général, 3e Section, 3e Bureau.

PRÉFECTURE DU DÉPARTEMENT DE LA SEINE.

Exposé des motifs qui ont fait donner le nom de Franklin à une des rues de la commune de Passy.

D'un régistre déposé aux archives de la Préfecture de la Seine, contenant les déliberations du Conseil général de la commune de Passy et portant au commencement la date du 3 Juillet 1791, a été extrait ce qui suit:

L'an mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze, le samedi trois Septembre sept heures de relevée. * * * Le Conseil général ne s'oppose pas à ce que l'arrêt relatif au jour pris pour la perception et celui relatif aux inscriptions des noms de rues soient exécutés, en observant à l'égard des rues, que les anciennes dénominations soient suivies, à l'exception de celle allant de la grande rue à la cydevant Barrière des Dames Sainte-Marie, laquelle, n'ayant point encore de nom, portera celui de Franklin, pour rappeler à perpetuité aux habitants de cette municipalité le long séjour de ce grand homme sur la paroisse. * * * *

Signé au régistre:

LEVEILLARD (*Maire*).
DUSSAULT et PERISEUX (*Officiers municipaux*).
TOUSSAINT, GIRANDIER, DANDUMONT, HUSSON, HARROEL et OLLIVIER (*Notables*).

Certifié conforme à l'original.

Le chef de la section des archives de la bibliothèque et des travaux historiques. CHARLES READ.

"In withdrawing Franklin at this period," says Ste.-Beuve ("Causeries de Lundi," vol. vii.), "and in relieving him of the two or three following years on the earth, Providence spared him the horror of seeing those he had most known and loved during his sojourn in France, snatched away by violent deaths,—the 'good duke' de la Rochefoucauld, Lavoisier, his neighbor Le Veillard, and so many others, all guillotined or massacred in the name of the very principles they had themselves most favored and cherished. The last thought of Franklin would then have been shrouded in funereal gloom, and his serene soul, before that second birth for which he hoped, had experienced the extremity of bitterness."—ED.

CHAPTER XIV.

Franklin's Last Will and Testament—His Epitaph.

1790.

I, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, of Philadelphia, printer, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France, now President of the State of Pennsylvania, do make and declare my last will and testament as follows.

To my son, *William Franklin*, late Governor of the Jerseys, I give and devise all the lands I hold or have a right to, in the Province of Nova Scotia, to hold to him, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give to him all my books and papers, which he has in his possession, and all debts standing against him on my account books, willing that no payment for, nor restitution of, the same be required of him by my executors. The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavoured to deprive me of.*

* This part of Franklin's will was prepared about two years before his death. His estate was then estimated to be fairly worth about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

He never saw his son William after they separated at Southampton, in

Having since my return from France demolished the three houses in Market Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, fronting my dwelling house, and erected two new and larger ones on the ground, and having also erected another house on the lot which formerly was the passage to my dwelling, and also a printing office between my dwelling and the front houses; now I do give and devise my said dwelling house, wherein I now live,* my said three new houses, my printing office and the lots of ground thereto belonging; also my small lot and house in Sixth Street, which I bought of the widow Henmarsh; also my pasture ground which I have in Hickory Lane, with the buildings thereon; also my house and lot on the north side of Market Street, now occupied by Mary Jacobs, together with two houses and lots behind the same, and fronting on Pewter-Platter Alley; also my lot of ground in Arch Street, opposite the church burying ground, with the buildings thereon erected; also all my silver plate, pictures, and household goods, of every kind, now in my said dwelling house, to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, and to her husband, *Richard Bache*, to hold to them for and during their natural lives, and the life of the longest liver of them. And from and after the decease of the survivor of them, I do give, devise, and bequeath to all children already born, or to be born of my said daughter, and to their heirs and assigns for ever, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants.

1785, nor does it appear that they ever held any correspondence with each other subsequent to that event. The ex-governor continued to reside in London, and attained the ripe age of eighty-two years. After the war he married a second time, but there is no evidence that he left any issue by these nuptials.—ED.

* The dwelling-house in which Franklin died was torn down in 1812, and the carriage-way which led to it is now called Franklin Court.—ED.

And, if any or either of them shall happen to die under age, and without issue, the part and share of him, her, or them, so dying, shall go to and be equally divided among the survivors or survivor of them. But my intention is, that, if any or either of them should happen to die under age, leaving issue, such issue shall inherit the part and share that would have passed to his, her, or their parent, had he, she, or they been living.

And, as some of my said devisees may, at the death of the survivor of their father or mother, be of age, and others of them under age, so as that all of them may not be of capacity to make division, I in that case request and authorize the judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Pennsylvania for the time being, or any three of them, not personally interested, to appoint by writing, under their hands and seals, three honest, intelligent, impartial men to make the said division, and to assign and allot to each of my devisees their respective share, which division, so made and committed to writing under the hands and seals of the said three men, or of any two of them, and confirmed by the said judges, I do hereby declare shall be binding on, and conclusive between the said devisees.

All the lands near the Ohio, and the lots near the centre of Philadelphia, which I lately purchased of the State, I give to my son-in-law, Richard Bache, his heirs and assigns for ever; I also give him the bond I have against him, of two thousand one hundred and seventy-two pounds, five shillings, together with the interest that shall or may accrue thereon, and direct the same to be delivered up to him by my executors, cancelled, requesting that, in consideration thereof, he would immediately after my decease manumit and set free his negro man Bob. I leave to him, also, the

money due to me from the State of Virginia for types. I also give to him the bond of William Goddard and his sister, and the counter bond of the late Robert Grace, and the bond and judgment of Francis Childs, if not recovered before my decease, or any other bonds, except the bond due from —— Killan, of Delaware State, which I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache.* I also discharge him, my said son-in-law, from all claim and rent of moneys due to me, on book account or otherwise. I also give him all my musical instruments.

The King of France's picture, set with four hundred and eight diamonds, I give to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, requesting, however, that she would not form any of those diamonds into ornaments either for herself or daughters, and thereby introduce or countenance the expensive, vain, and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country; and those immediately connected with the picture may be preserved with the same.*

I give and devise to my dear sister, *Jane Mecom*, a house and lot I have in Unity Street, Boston, now or late under the care of Mr. Jonathan Williams, to her and to her heirs and assigns for ever. I also give her the yearly sum of fifty pounds sterling, during life, to commence at my death, and to be paid to her annually out of the interests or dividends arising on twelve shares, which I have since my arrival at Philadelphia purchased in the Bank of North America, and, at her decease, I give the said twelve shares in the bank to my daughter, *Sarah Baché*, and her husband, *Richard*

* In pursuance of the instructions and implications of this clause, Mrs. Bache sold the outer circle of diamonds, and upon the proceeds she and her husband made the tour of Europe. The miniature is now in the custody of Honorable W. J. Duane, of Philadelphia.—ED.

Bache. But it is my express will and desire, that, after the payment of the above fifty pounds sterling annually to my said sister,* my said daughter be allowed to apply the residue of the interest or dividends on those shares to her sole and separate use, during the life of my said sister, and afterwards the whole of the interest or dividends thereof as her private pocket money.

I give the right I have to take up three thousand acres of land in the State of Georgia, granted to me by the government of that State, to my grandson, William Temple Franklin,† his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give to my grandson, William Temple Franklin, the bond and judgment I have against him of four thousand pounds sterling, my right to the same to cease upon the day of his marriage; and if he dies unmarried, my will is, that the same be recovered and divided among my other grandchildren, the children of my daughter Sarah Bache, in such manner and form as I have herein before given to them the other parts of my estate.

The philosophical instruments I have in Philadelphia I give to my ingenious friend, Francis Hopkinson.

To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my brother, Samuel Franklin, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, Anne Harris, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling,

* Mrs. Mecom survived to enjoy her illustrious brother's liberality about four years, when she too was gathered to her fathers, the last of seventeen children, at the ripe age of eighty-two.—ED.

† William Temple Franklin sailed for England soon after his grandfather's death, and never returned to the United States. Of his career in England little is known beyond what is set forth in the "Introductory" pages of this work in relation to his part in the publication of his father's papers He died in Paris in 1823.—ED.

to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my brother, James Franklin, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, Sarah Davenport, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, Lydia Scott, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, Jane Mecom, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them.

I give to my grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache,* all the types and printing materials, which I now have in Philadelphia, with the complete letter foundery, which in the whole, I suppose to be worth near one thousand pounds; but if he should die under age, then I do order the same to be sold by my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, and the moneys thence arising to be equally divided among all the rest of my said daughter's children, or their representatives, each one on coming of age to take his or her share, and the children of such of them as may die under age to represent, and to take the share and proportion of,

* This boy, born August 12, 1769, went with his grandfather to Paris, was some time at school at Geneva, and finally became the first publisher and editor of the *Aurora* newspaper. He married Margaret Hartman Markoe, a native of Santa Cruz, of Danish origin, and died in Philadelphia, of yellow fever, September 10, 1798, leaving four children, two of whom died unmarried. All the male descendants of the other two, I believe, hold positions of distinction and influence.—ED.

the parent so dying, each one to receive his or her part of such share as they come of age.

With regard to my books, those I had in France and those I left in Philadelphia, being now assembled together here, and a catalogue made of them, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows. My "History of the Academy of Sciences," in sixty or seventy volumes quarto, I give to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honor to be President. My collection in folio of *Les Arts et les Métiers*, I give to the American Philosophical Society, established in New England, of which I am a member. My quarto edition of the same, *Arts et Métiers*, I give to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Such and so many of my books, as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, I do hereby give to him; and such and so many of my books, as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, *William Bache*, I do hereby give to him; and such as shall be marked with the name of *Jonathan Williams*, I hereby give to my cousin of that name. The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson *William Temple Franklin*. My share in the Library Company of Philadelphia, I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, confiding that he will permit his brothers and sisters to share in the use of it.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling*

* This one hundred pounds proved a singularly auspicious investment. With the addition of a little to the fund from the city treasury of Boston, its medals have rewarded the diligence and exemplary conduct of over four thousand boys who have been found to merit them, and have no doubt

to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or by those person or persons, who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet.

Out of the salary that may remain due to me as President of the State, I do give the sum of two thousand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to such person or persons as the legislature of this State by an act of Assembly shall appoint to receive the same in trust, to be employed for making the river Schuylkill navigable.

And what money of mine shall, at the time of my decease, remain in the hands of my bankers, Messrs. Ferdinand Grand and Son, at Paris, or Messrs. Smith, Wright and Gray, of London, I will that, after my debts are paid and deducted, with the money legacies of this my will, the same be divided into four equal parts, two of which I give to my dear daughter, *Sarah Bache*, one to her son *Benjamin*, and one to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*.

During the number of years I was in business as a stationer, printer, and post-master, a great many small sums became due for books, advertisements, postage of letters, and other matters, which were not collected when, in 1757,

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stimulated to extra exertion perhaps hundreds of thousands who were less fortunate. The amount of this fund has more than doubled since Franklin's death.—ED.

I was sent by the Assembly to England as their agent, and by subsequent appointments continued there till 1775, when on my return, I was immediately engaged in the affairs of Congress, and sent to France in 1776, where I remained nine years, not returning till 1785; and the said debts, not being demanded in such a length of time, are become in a manner obsolete, yet are nevertheless justly due. These, as they are stated in my great folio ledger E, I bequeath to the contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, hoping that those debtors, and the descendants of such as are deceased, who now, as I find, make some difficulty of satisfying such antiquated demands as just debts, may, however, be induced to pay or give them as charity to that excellent institution. I am sensible, that much must inevitably be lost, but I hope something considerable may be recovered. It is possible, too, that some of the parties charged may have existing old, unsettled accounts against me; in which case the managers of the said hospital will allow and deduct the amount, or pay the balance if they find it against me.*

My debts and legacies being all satisfied and paid, the rest and residue of all my estate, real and personal, not herein expressly disposed of, I do give and bequeath to my son and daughter *Richard* and *Sarah Bache.*

I request my friends, Henry Hill, Esquire, John Jay, Esquire, Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, and Mr. Edward Duffield, of Benfield, in Philadelphia County, to be the executors of

* This bequest did not realize the hopes and wishes of its author. After trying seven years to get something from it, the managers of the hospital decided formally that, as many of the bequeathed debts were small, numbers of them due from persons unknown, and all of them from thirty to sixty years old, which precludes every hope of recovering as much as will answer the demands exhibited against the decedent, the legacy be not accepted, and the ledger be returned to the Doctor's heirs.—ED.

this my last will and testament; and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpose.

I would have my body buried with as little expense or ceremony as may be. I revoke all former wills by me made, declaring this only to be my last.

In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my
[SEAL.] hand and seal, this seventeenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

B. FRANKLIN.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the above named Benjamin Franklin, for and as his last will and testament, in the presence of us.

ABRAHAM SHOEMAKER,
JOHN JONES,
GEORGE MOORE.

CODICIL.

I, Benjamin Franklin, in the foregoing or annexed last will and testament named, having further considered the same, do think proper to make and publish the following codicil or addition thereto.

It having long been a fixed political opinion of mine, that in a democratical state, there ought to be no offices of profit for the reasons I had given in an article of my drawing in our Constitution, it was my intention when I accepted the office of President, to devote the appointed salary to some public uses. Accordingly, I had already before I made my will in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, &c.; and in that

will I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the State for the purpose of making the Schuylkill navigable. But, understanding since, that such a sum will do but little towards accomplishing such a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come, and having entertained another idea, that I hope may be more extensively useful, I do hereby revoke and annul that bequest, and direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that salary be sold, towards raising the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, to be disposed of as I am now about to order.

It has been an opinion, that he who receives an estate from his ancestors, is under some kind of obligation to transmit the same to their posterity. This obligation does not lie on me, who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or relation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable estate among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as some apology to my family for making bequests that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I have, therefore, already considered these schools in my will. But I am also under obligations to the State of Massachusetts for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent in England, with a handsome salary, which continued some years; and, although I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting Governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude.

I have considered, that, among artisans, good apprentices

are most likely to make good citizens, and, having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both those towns. To this end, I devote two thousand pounds sterling, of which I give one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared.

The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the sum upon interest, at five per cent per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become their sureties, in a bond with the applicants, for the repayment of the moneys so lent, with interest, according to the terms hereinafter prescribed; all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin; and the managers shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefits of this institution, and of their

sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records respecting the business and concerns of this institution. And, as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds; and, if the number of appliers so entitled should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each as much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished so as to afford to every one some assistance. These aids may, therefore, be small at first, but, as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And, in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay, with the yearly interest, one-tenth part of the principal, which sums of principal and interest, so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers.

And, as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped, that no part of the money will at any time be dead, or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest; in which case there may, in time, be more than the occasions in Boston shall require, and then some may be spared to the neighbouring or other towns in the said State of Massachusetts, who may desire to have it; such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest and the portions of the principal, annually, to the inhabitants of the town of Boston.

If this plan is executed, and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest, in the manner above directed, for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the State, not presuming to carry my views farther.

All the directions herein given, respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, only, as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management agreeably to the said directions; and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose. And, having considered that the covering a ground

plat with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain and prevent its soaking into the earth and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities, I recommend that at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds in bringing, by pipes, the water of Wissahickon Creek into the town, so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of the creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam. I also recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four million and sixty-one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania, in the same manner as herein directed with respect to that of the inhabitants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts.

It is my desire that this institution should take place and begin to operate within one year after my decease, for which purpose due notice should be publicly given previous to the expiration of that year, that those for whose benefit this establishment is intended may make their respective applications. And I hereby direct my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be duly appointed by the selectmen of Boston, and the corporation of Philadelphia, to receive and take charge of their respective sums, of one thousand pounds each, for the purposes aforesaid.

Considering the accidents to which all human affairs and

projects are subject in such a length of time, I have, perhaps, too much flattered myself with a vain fancy, that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption and have the effects proposed. I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will, at least, accept the offer of these donations as a mark of my good will, a token of my gratitude, and a testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them after my departure. I wish, indeed, that they may both undertake to endeavour the execution of the project, because I think, that, though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money, with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is, that both sums be given to the inhabitants of the city accepting the whole, to be applied to the same purposes, and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts; and, if both refuse, the money of course remains in the mass of my estate, and is to be disposed of therewith according to my will made the seventeenth day of July, 1788.*

* These bequests have failed to realize the hopes of the testator. The conditions upon which the money was to be loaned were all practically fatal to its success. The number of persons who are married, under twenty-five years of age, in need of so small a sum as two hundred dollars, who would be able and willing to produce two responsible sureties for a loan, has probably diminished every year in Boston since Franklin's death.

There were but two hundred and fifty-five loans from this fund from May, 1791, to the end of the year 1836, in sums varying from seventy dollars to two hundred and sixty-six, up to the year 1800, and of about two hundred dollars since that time. From July, 1811, to 1836, fifty out of ninety-one loans were repaid in whole or in part by sureties.

The following extract from the report of the City Auditor of Boston for 1872-3 gives the present condition of the fund:

I wish to be buried by the side of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone, to be made by Chambers, six feet

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"Amount of fund (for mechanics) as per report of F. U. Tracy, City Treasurer, Jan. 1, 1873		$171,315 80
Amount January 1, 1872	$160,911 15	
Interest accrued during the year . . .	10,404 65	
	$171,315 80	

"No loan has been made in 1873. Only one application was made during the year, and upon that the aldermen had not acted up to November.

"The Treasurer also reports that he will have to sue one or two of the three bonds now out."

The fate of the bequest in Philadelphia, so far as it has differed from this, has been for the worse. It was more recklessly lent and the unloaned balances less prudently invested.

The following statement of the condition of the fund, taken from the Third Annual Report of the Directors of City Trusts for the year 1872, shows that its accumulations are scarce one-third as great as those of the Boston fund:

1872. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TRUST.

Income to be loaned to young married artificers who have served an apprenticeship in Philadelphia, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, and who can furnish two satisfactory securities for the return of the money. (Applications for this loan can be made to Charles Oat, No. 19 South Fifth St.)

CAPITAL.

5 per cent. City of Philadelphia Loan	$4,300 00	
6 " " " "	47,900 00	
Loaned to young married artificers .	950 00	
	$53,150 00	
Jan. 1. By balance		$82 79
By cash, 12 months' interest on City Loan		2,414 35
" City Loan paid off . . .		500 00
" " from R. W. B. King, 1st instalment on Loan to him . .		30 00

long, four feet wide, plain, with only a small moulding round the upper edge, and this inscription:

BENJAMIN
AND
DEBORAH
} FRANKLIN

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to be placed over us both.

My fine crabtree walking stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, *General Washington.* If it were a sceptre he has merited it; and would become it. It was a present to me from that excellent woman Madame de Forbach, the Dowager Duchess of Deux-Ponts, connected with some verses which should go with it.

I give my gold watch to my son-in-law, Richard Bache, and also the gold watch chain of the thirteen United States, which I have not yet worn. My time-piece, that stands in my library, I give to my grandson, William Temple Franklin. I give him also my Chinese gong. To my dear old friend, Mrs. Mary Hewson, I give one of my silver tankards marked for her use during her life, and after her decease I give it to her daughter Eliza. I give to her son, William Hewson, who is my godson, my new quarto Bible, Oxford edition, to be for his family Bible, and also the botanic description of the plants in the Emperor's garden at Vienna, in folio, with colored cuts.

Jan. 4.	To cash, invested in City Loan . .	$2,100 00	
	" Loans made during 1872 .	750 00	
	" Expenses of Trust . .	124 25	
Dec. 31.	To balance	52 89	
		$3,027 14	$3,027 14

—ED.

And to her son, Thomas Hewson, I give a set of Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians handsomely bound.

There is an error in my will, where the bond of William Temple Franklin is mentioned as being four thousand pounds sterling, whereas it is but for three thousand five hundred pounds.

I give to my executors, to be divided equally among those that act, the sum of sixty pounds sterling, as some compensation for their trouble in the execution of my will; and I request my friend, Mr. Duffield, to accept moreover my French wayweiser, a piece of clockwork in brass, to be fixed to the wheel of any carriage; and that my friend, *Mr. Hill*, may also accept my silver cream-pot, formerly given to me by the good Doctor Fothergill, with the motto, *Keep bright the chain.* My reflecting telescope, made by Short, which was formerly Mr. Canton's, I give to my friend, *Mr. David Rittenhouse*, for the use of his observatory.

My picture, drawn by Martin, in 1767, I give to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, if they shall be pleased to do me the honor of accepting it, and placing it in their chambe-.

Since my will was made I have bought some more city lots, near the centre part of the estate of Joseph Dean. I would have them go with the other lots, disposed of in my will, and I do give the same to my son-in-law, *Richard Bache*, his heirs, and assigns for ever.

In addition to the annuity left to my sister in my will, of fifty pounds sterling during her life, I now add thereto ten pounds sterling more, in order to make the sum sixty pounds. I give twenty guineas to my good friend and physician, *Dr. John Jones.*

With regard to the separate bequests made to my daughter Sarah, in my will, my intention is, that the same shall be for her sole and separate use, notwithstanding her coverture, or whether she be covert or sole; and I do give my executors so much right and power therein as may be necessary to render my intention effectual in that respect only. This provision for my daughter is not made out of any disrespect I have for her husband.

And lastly, it is my desire that this, my present codicil, be annexed to, and considered as part of, my last will and testament to all intents and purposes.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my
[SEAL.] hand and seal this twenty-third day of June, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

B. FRANKLIN.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the above named Benjamin Franklin to be a codicil to his last will and testament, in the presence of us.

FRANCIS BAILEY,
THOMAS LANG,
ABRAHAM SHOEMAKER.

EPITAPH WRITTEN IN 1728.

The Body
of
Benjamin Franklin
Printer
(Like the cover of an old book
Its contents torn out
And stript of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here, food for worms.
But the work shall not be lost
For it will (as he believed) appear once more
In a new and more elegant edition
Revised and corrected
by
The Author.*

* The foregoing epitaph was written by Dr. Franklin for himself, when he was only twenty-three years of age, as appears by the original (with various corrections), found among his papers, and from which this is a faithful copy. —W. T. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THE following list of works written by or about Franklin, though probably the fullest that exists, is, I am aware, far from complete. It may be doubted whether a complete one is any longer possible, for Franklin's writings and fame have so completely penetrated the literature of every nation and tongue as to defy the pursuit of the most zealous and industrious bibliographer. For most of these titles I am indebted to Sabin's laborious "Dictionary of Books relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time," with which he has obligingly favored me with advance sheets. I have also enriched it from the Catalogue of the British Museum, from "La France Littéraire," by Querard, from "La Littérature Française contemporaine, 1827–1844," by Louandre & Barquelot, and from "Bibliographie Biographique Universelle," par Edouard Marie Oettinger, Brussels, 1854.

1. [Franklin (Benjamin).] An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvanian Fire-Places; Wherein their Construction and Manner of Operation is particularly explained; Their Advantage above every other Method of Warming Rooms obviated. With Directions for putting them up, and for Using them to the best Advantage. And a Copper-Plate, in which the several Parts of the Machine are exactly laid down, from a scale of equal Parts. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin. 1744. 8vo, pp. 37. Folded Plate.

This is doubtless the Franklin Stove, invented (?) by Franklin, and the pamphlet probably written by him. Frequently reprinted in Europe and America. See Sparks's Franklin, VI. 34.

2. Almanach du Bonhomme Richard, précédé d'une Notice historique sur l'auteur, et suivi de considérations sur l'organisation du travail, par A. J. Sanson. Paris: Boulé. 1845. 32mo.

Besides the titles cited in this collection, there have appeared in French from fifteen to twenty editions of "Poor Richard."

3. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. Herrn Hofrath Achenwalls . . . Anmerkungen über Nordamerika und über dasige Grossbritannische Colonien, aus mundlichen Nachrichten des . . . Dr. F. Frankfurt und Leipzig. 1769. 8vo.

4. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. Einige Anmerkungen über Nord Amerika und über dasige Grossbritannische Colonien. Aus mundlichen Nachrichten Fs verfasst von G. Achenwall nebst J. Wesleys Schrift von den Streitigkeiten mit den Colonien in Amerika. Helmstädt. 1777. 8vo.

5. Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, Published by W. T. Franklin. Edited by Jared Sparks. London: H. G. Bohn. 1850. 12mo, pp. vi, 154.

Of another edition of this there was a Dutch translation published at the Hague in 1828, 12mo.

6. Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. Edited from his Manuscript, with Notes and an Introduction. By John Bigelow. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1868. 12mo, pp. 410. Portrait.

7. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. The Beauties of F. Consisting of Selections from his Works by A. Howard. London. (1834?) 12mo.

8. Benjamin Franklin, his Autobiography, with a Narrative of his Public Life and Services. By Rev. H. Hastings Weld. New York: Harper & Brothers. [1848.] 8vo, pp. xvi, (2), 549.

First issued in monthly parts. Frequently reprinted; the last, New York, 1859.

9. Bettziech-Beta (Heinrich). Benjamin Franklin. Sein Leben, Denken und Wirken. Leipzig. 1853. 8vo.

This forms Bd. xviii. of "Unterhaltende Belehrungen zur Förderung allgemeiner Bildung."

10. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. B. F., "Doer of Good." A Biography. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1865.

11. B. Franklin's Leben (Theodor Ruprecht). Leipzig. 1853. 8vo.

12. A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin; now for the first time Published. Boston: Charles Bowen. 1833. 12mo, pp. xvi, 295.

Issued at the same time in London as Familiar Letters.

13. The Complete Works, in Philosophy, Politics, and Morals, of the

late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, now first Collected and Arranged; With Memoirs of his Early Life, written by Himself. London: J. Johnson. 1806. 3 vols., 8vo, pp. xiv, (1), 440, 18 l.; pp. vi, (1), 468; (2), vi, 562. 12 Plates.

14. Continuation, 1761. See No. 126.

15. Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs, In a Letter to a Friend in the Country. Philadelphia: Printed by W. Dunlap. M,DCC,LXIV. 8vo, pp. 22.

16. Correspondance choisie, traduite de l'Anglais (par M. de la Mordelle) d'après l'édition publiée par W. T. Franklin, son petit-fils. Treuttel & Würtz. 1817. 8vo.

17. Correspondance inédite et secrète du Docteur B. Franklin, Ministre Plénipotentiaire des États-Unis d'Amérique près la Cour de France, depuis l'année 1753 jusqu'en 1790; offrant, en trois parties complètes et bien distinctes, 1° les mémoires de sa vie privée; 2° les causes premières de la révolution d'Amérique; 3° l'histoire des diverses négociations entre l'Angleterre, la France et les États-Unis. Publiée, pour la première fois, en France, avec des notes, additions, etc. Paris. M. DCCC. XVII. 2 vols., 8vo. Portrait. [Ibid.] 1827.

18. A | Dissertation | on | Liberty and Necessity, | Pleasure and Pain. | London: | Printed in the Year MDCCXXV. | 8vo, pp. 32.

So rare, that in Puttick's catalogue of 1860 it is said to be "unique." See "Notes and Queries," Jan. 3, 1852, from which it appears it was reprinted in sixteen pages. It has never been reprinted in any of the editions of Dr. Franklin's works. Twenty-five copies were reprinted, in fac-simile, by Charles Whittingham, for Henry Stevens, of London, about 1854. It is priced in the Nuggets, No. 1098, at £10 10s.

19. Éloge de Franklin, par Claude Fauchet. Paris. 1791–4.

20. Éloge de Franklin, par Condorcet. Paris. 8vo. 1791. Avec les Portraits de Washington et de Franklin.

21. An Essay on the African Slave Trade. Philadelphia: Printed by Daniel Humphreys. M.DCC.XC. 8vo, pp. 15.

22. Essays Humourous, Moral and Literary. By B. Franklin. Boston: 1811. 12mo, pp. 182, (2). London. [n. d.] 18mo, pp. 144.

Frequently reprinted in America and England.

23. The Examination of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, before an August Assembly, relating to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act, &c. [n. p. 1766.] 8vo, pp. 16.

No title-page; probably printed at Philadelphia. Another edition, also without date or plate, has 23 pages, 8vo. It was reprinted in London as

24. The | Examination | of | Doctor Benjamin Franklin, | Relative to the | Repeal | of the | American Stamp Act, | in MDCCLXVI. London, MDCCLXVII. | 8vo, pp. (2), 50.

Mr. Rich quotes this title with the words, "before an Honourable Assembly." This edition we have not seen. See Sparks's Franklin, IV. 199, and "M. Rev.," XXXVII. 73.

25. Die Verhörung Doctor Benjamin Franklin's vor der Hohen Versammlung des Hauses der Gemeinen von Grossbritannien, die Stämpel-Act, &c. betreffend. Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey S. Miller. 1766. 8vo, pp. 43.

A German translation of the preceding.

26. Interrogatoire de Mr Franklin Député de Pensilvanie au Parlement de la Grande Bretagne. Traduit de l'Anglois par Ch . . . D. H . . . , Maître de la Langue Angloise à Strasbourg. Prix 24 sols. [Colophon:] A Strasbourg: de l'Imprimerie de Simon Kürsner. [n. d.] Avec Approbation. 8vo, pp. 35.

27. Experiments and Observations on Electricity made at Philadelphia, in America, By Mr. Benjamin Franklin, Esq. London: E. Cave. 1751. 4to. Plates.

28. Expériences et Observations sur l'Électricité, traduites de l'Anglais (par F. E. Dalibord). Paris: Durand. 1752. 12mo. 1756. 2 vols. 12mo.

29. Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America, by Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. and F.R.S. To which are added, Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects. The Whole Corrected, Methodized and Improved, and now first collected into one Volume, And Illustrated with Copper-Plates. [Fourth Edition.] London: Printed for David Henry. MDCCLXIX. 4to, pp. (iii), 496, (16). 7 Plates. The Fifth Edition. London: J. Newbery. M.DCC.LXXIV. 4to, pp. (2), vi, 514, (16). 7 Plates.

30. Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin; now for the first time Published. Edited by Jared Sparks. . . . With Explanatory Notes. London: Jackson and Walford. 1833. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi, 259.

31. Father Abraham's Speech To a Great Number of People, at a Vendue of Merchant-Goods; Introduced to the Public by Poor Richard, A Famous Pennsylvania Conjurer, and Almanack-Maker, In Answer to

the following Questions; Pray, Father Abraham, what think you of the Times? Won't these heavy Taxes quite ruin the Country? How shall we be ever able to pay them? What would you advise us to? To which are added, several curious Pieces of Writing. Dedham: Printed by H. Mann, for Wm. Tileston Clapp, Boston. 1807. 12mo, pp. 24. New London. [n. d.] New Haven. [n. d.] 12mo, pp. 16.

There are many editions of this popular piece.

32. A few Reasons in favour of Vendues. [Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall. About 1772.] Folio, 1 l.

33. Franklin und Washington, von Johann Christoph August Bauer. Berlin. 1803–6. 8 vols. 8vo.

Forms the 8th vol. of "Anecdoten aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert."

34. Franklin before the Privy Council, Whitehall Chapel, London, 1774, on behalf of the Province of Massachusetts, to Advocate the Removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. Philadelphia: John M. Butler. 1859. 8vo, pp. v, 134. Plate.

Privately printed, and scarce.

35. An Historical Review of Pennsylvania, From its Origin, Embracing, among other subjects, the several Points of Controversy, which have, from Time to Time, arisen between the several Governors of that Province, and Their several Assemblies. Founded on Authentic Documents. . . . London: R. Griffiths. MDCCLIX. 8vo, pp. viii, 9 l., pp. 444.

Generally attributed to Franklin, but perhaps by his son William. "It has recently been ascertained, however, that he was not, in fact, the author, although it was written under his direction, and doubtless from copious material furnished by him."—Sparks's Franklin, III. 109. See also "M. Rev.," XXI. 367. Mr. Rice's copy is printed on very thick paper, and is perhaps unique. The editor of the following edition apparently had no doubt as to the authorship.

36. An Historical Review of Pennsylvania, From its Origin, Embracing, among other subjects, the Various Points of Controversy which have arisen, from Time to Time, between the several Governors and the Assemblies. Founded on Authentic Documents. By Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. [Originally Published in London, 1759.] Philadelphia: Published by E. Olmsted and W. Power. 1812. 8vo, pp. xv–xxxvi, 431.

Forms Vol. II. of the edition in 6 vols. of Franklin's Works. Some copies have the imprint—Philadelphia: W. Duane. 1808.

37. Information for those who would remove to America. By Dr.

Benjamin Franklin. London: M. Gurney. 1794. 8vo, pp. 23. London, 1796. 4to.

Sparks says it was first published in England in 1784, and afterward, in 1787, included in Dilly's edition of Franklin's Works. See Sparks's Franklin, II. 453.

38. Interest of Great Britain, 1760.

39. Internal State of America. Being a True Description of the Interest and Policy of that vast Continent. London. 1784. 8vo.

I have never seen this pamphlet, and infer the title from Sparks's Franklin, II. 453, where it is said to be reprinted in Dilly's edition of Franklin's Works, in 1787.

40. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. B. F.'s Jugendjahre, von ihm selbst . . . beschrieben und übersetzt von G. A. Bürger. Berlin. 1792. 8vo.

41. Kleine Schriften meist in der Manier des Zuschauers nebst seinem Leben. Aus dem Englischen von G. Schatz. Mit Franklins doppeltem Bildnisse. Weimar: Im Verlage des Industrie Comptoirs. 1794. 2 vols., 8vo, 7 l., pp. 352; 428. 2 Portraits of Franklin.

42. Die Lautere Wahrheit, oder ernstliche Betrachtung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Stadt Philadelphia, und der Provinz Pennsylvanien. Von einem Handwerksmann in Philadelphia. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt durch J. Crell. Gedruckt, und zu finden bei Gotthard Armbrüster. 8vo, pp. 20.

Title in German text. A translation of Plain Truth, *infra*.

43. Kell (Julius). Lebensbeschreibung Benjamin Franklin's des thatkräftigen Mannes und freisinnigen Volksfreundes. Eine Volkschrift. [With a portrait of Franklin.] Leipzig. 1845. 8vo.

The author assures his readers: "dass Nichts in dieser Geschichte erdichtet, sondern alles volle Wahrheit ist. . . . Hierbei war es des Verfassers eifrigstes Bestreben, den grossen Mann *treu und wahr* zu schildern."

44. Lebensbeschreibung B. Franklin's. Berlin. 1797–8. Johann Christian.

45. Venedey (J.) Benjamin Franklin. Ein Lebensbild. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1862. 8vo.

46. Lehrer von Franklin. (W. G. Reddingius) Groningue. 8vo. 1813.

47. Leben B. Franklins. Carl Schmaltz. Leipzig. 1840. 8vo.

48. A Letter from Benjamin Franklin to a Gentleman in New Jersey,

dated Philadelphia, June 6th, 1753. Nottingham [England. n. d.] Folio, 1 l.

49. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. Lettre à Monsieur D. Le Roy, contenant différentes Observations sur la Marine. Paris. 1787. 8vo.

50. A Letter to a Friend in the Country, Containing the Substance of a Sermon Preached at Philadelphia, in the Congregation of The Rev. Mr. Hemphill, concerning the Terms of Christian and Ministerial Communion. Printed and sold by B. Franklin: Philadelphia. 1735.

See Sparks's "Life of Franklin," p. 125.

51. Letters | between | Theophilus and Eugenio, | on the | Moral Pravity of Man, | and the | Means of His Restoration. | Wrote in the East-Indies, | And now First Published from the Original Manuscript. | Philadelphia: | Printed and Sold by B. Franklin. | MDCCXLVII. | 4to, pp. iv, 64.

Very rare. This is attributed to Franklin on the authority of an auction-sale catalogue.

52. Letters and Essays. London. 1820. 8vo.

53. The Life and Essays of Dr. Franklin. London: T. Kinnersly. [n. d.] 2 vols., 12mo, Engraved Title, pp. vi, 471. New York. 1807. 12mo. London. 1816. 8vo. New York. 1858. 12mo. pp. 375.

Reprinted as "Life and Essays, Humorous, Moral and Literary." Dublin. 1793. 8vo. Portrait. Third Ed. London. 1800. 2 vols. 8vo; and afterwards in numerous forms.

54. The Life of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. Printed and sold by George Nicholson Poughnell, near London. [n. d.] 12mo, Engraved Title, pp. 56. Portrait.

55. The Life of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Written by Himself. Second American Edition. Philadelphia: Benjamin Johnson. 1794. 16mo, pp. 197. Third American Edition. New-York: T. and J. Swords. 1794. 16mo, pp. 214. Portrait. Salem: Cushing and Carleton. 1796. 16mo, pp. 132. Albany. 1797. 16mo. Montpelier, Vt. [n. d.] 16mo. Montpelier: printed by Samuel Goss, for Joseph Parks. 1809. 16mo. New-York: Printed by Clayton & Van Norden. 1824. 16mo. [Ibid.] 1825.

56. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. The Life of Dr. F., Written by Himself. London. 1850. 18mo.

This work forms a volume of the "New Popular Library."

57. The Life of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin. Written by Himself. Philadelphia: Johnson & Warner. 1811. 12mo, pp. 104. [Ibid.] 1812. Edinburgh. 1839. Philadelphia. 1864.

58. Life of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself; with Essays, Humorous, Moral, and Literary. Boston. 1815. 16mo. Portrait.

59. The Life of Benjamin Franklin, including a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the War of Independence, and of the Various Negotiations at Paris for Peace; with the History of his Political and other Writings. London. 1826. 12mo.

60. Weems (M. L.). The Life of Benjamin Franklin; with many choice Anecdotes and admirable Sayings of this great man, never before published by any of his Biographers. Stereotyped by L. Johnson. Wood-cuts. Philadelphia. 1835. 8vo.

61. Life of Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself. Together with his Essays, Humorous, Moral and Literary. Auburn, N. N. [*sic*] Derby, Miller & Co. 1848. 12mo.

Reprinted, Auburn, N. Y. 1853. 12mo. Also issued in 8vo.

62. Franklin (Benjamin). The Life of B. F. Illustrated by Tales, Sketches, and Anecdotes. Adapted to the use of Schools. With engravings. [By S. G. Goodrich.] Philadelphia. 1844. 12mo.

63. The Life of Benjamin Franklin; containing the Autobiography; with Notes and a Continuation. By Jared Sparks. Boston. 1845. 8vo, pp. 612. Dessau. 1854. 8vo.

64. Stanley (John). The Life of Benjamin Franklin. With selections from his Miscellaneous Works. Illustrated by Newton Fielding. London. 1849. 12mo.

65. Life of Benjamin Franklin, by O. L. Holly. New York. 1848. 8vo.

66. Leben des Benjamin Franklin, von ihm selbst geschrieben. Leipzig. 1839. 12mo.

Forming part of the "Geschichts-Bibliothek fürs Volk." No preface or introduction.

67. The Life of Benjamin Franklin. Illustrated by Tales, Sketches, and Anecdotes. Adapted to the Use of Schools. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co. 1838. 12mo.

68. Franklin's Leben. Tübingen. 1795. 8vo.

Being Vol. 1. of the collection entitled "Biographien für die Jugend."

69. Het Leven van Benjamin Franklin, door hemzelven beschreven. Benevens deszelfs zede-, staat-, letterkundige en geestige Schriften. Uit het Engelsch. Groningen: W. Zuidema. 1798–1800. 2 vols. in 1, 8vo, 6 l., pp. 258; 1 l., 4 l. pp. 432.

70. Der Weg zum Glück, oder Leben und Meinungen des Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Von ihm selbst geschrieben. Reading (Pa.): Heinrich B. Sage. 1820. 18mo, pp. 128.

71. [The Same.] Der Weg zum Glück, oder [sein] Leben und Meinungen. Von ihm selbst geschrieben. Reading (Pa.): H. B. Sage. 1820. 24mo, pp. 128. 's Hage. 1828. 8vo.

72. Leben und Schriften. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Weimar. 1818. 2 vols., 8vo.

Forms Vols. III. and IV. of Franklin's works in German.

73. Ruprecht (Theodor). Benjamin Franklin's Leben und Schriften. Leipzig. 1853. 8vo.

This forms Vol. V. of "Bildungs-Halle im Sinne und Geiste unserer Zeit." This work begins with a translation into German of the Autobiography.

74. Vie de Benjamin Franklin: écrite par lui-même, suivie de ses œuvres morales, politiques et littéraires, dont la plus grande partie n'avoit pas encore été publiée. Traduite de l'Anglais, avec des notes, par J. Castéra. Paris: F. Buisson. An VI de la République. [1799.] 8vo, pp. viii, 438.

75. Mignet (François Auguste Alexis). Vie de Franklin, à l'usage de tout le monde. Par M. Mignet. Première [et seconde] partie. Paris. 1848. 12mo.

This forms Livraisons 7 and 8 of the "Petits Traités publiés par l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques."

76. Mélanges de Morale, d'Économie et de Politique, extraits des Ouvrages de Benjamin Franklin. . . . Paris: Chez Antoine-Augustin Renouard. 1824. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. vi, 252; Portrait.

77. [The same in Spanish.] Miscelanea de Economia, politica y moral, extractada de las obras de Benjamin Franklin, y precedida de una noticia sobre su vida. Traducida del Francés por Mangino, natural de Méjico. Paris: Bossange padre. 1825. 2 vols. 18mo.

78. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D., F.R.S., &c. Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, at the Court of France, and for the Treaty of Peace and Independence

with Great Britain, &c. &c. Written by Himself to a late Period, and continued to the time of his Death, by his Grandson; William Temple Franklin. Now first published from the original MSS. Comprising the Private Correspondence and Public Negociations of Dr. Franklin, and a selection from his Political, Philosophical, and Miscellaneous Works. London: Henry Colburn. 1818–19. 6 vols., 8vo, pp. xii, 542; (2), 450; xvi, 456; xii, 392; xvi, 493; viii, 523. 10 Plates. Second [and Third] Edition. [Ibid.] 3 vols., 4to, pp. x, 450; lxxxviii, (1), Map; xxiv, 449; (2), xii, 570, 10 Plates. New Edition. London: published for Henry Colburn by R. Bentley. 1833. 6 vols., 8vo.

All of these sets are often broken up, and the three series of Life, Correspondence, and Posthumous Writings sold separately with the same general title, and the editions are sometimes mixed. "Caveat emptor." The so-called new edition of 1833 is the first edition of 1818, with new title-pages only. See "M. Rev.," LXXXIII. 18 and 133; LXXXVIII. 409; and "N. Am. Rev.," VII. 289. The copy of this work in the British Museum contains a few notes by the Duke of Sussex.

79. Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself and Continued by his Grandson, with his Correspondence, Essays, Diplomatic Transactions, &c. with a Postliminious Preface by W. Duane. Philadelphia. 1834. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 624; vii, 517. New York. 1861. 2 vols., 8vo.

80. Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin; Written by Himself. With his most Interesting Essays, Letters, and Miscellaneous Writings; Familiar, Moral, Political, Economical, and Philosophical. Selected with care from all his Published Productions, and comprising whatever is most Entertaining and Valuable to the General Reader. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1839. 2 vols., 18mo, pp. 287; (2), 288. [Ibid.] 1840. [Ibid.] 1845.

81. Memoirs of the Life of Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself. Illustrated Edition. New-York: John Doggett, Jr. 1850. 8vo.

82. Mémoires de la Vie privée de Benjamin Franklin, écrits par lui-même, et adressés à son Fils (suivis de la Science du Bonhomme Richard). Traduits de l'Anglais (par M. Gibelin). Paris: Buisson. 1791. 8vo.

83. Mémoires de la Vie privée de Benj. Franklin, écrits par lui-même, suivis d'un précis historique de sa Vie politique. Paris. 1791. 8vo.

84. Mémoires complets, œuvres morales et littéraires de B. Franklin,

traduction nouvelle, d'après la dernière édition publiée à New-York, par les Albin (Mme. Cornu). Paris: Ch. Gosselin. 1841. 12mo.

85. [Another edition]. Auzin, Boucher Moreau. 1842. 8vo.

86. Mémoires sur la vie et les écrits de Benjamin Franklin, . . . publiés sur le manuscrit original rédigé par lui-même en grande partie, et continué jusqu'à sa mort, Par William Temple Franklin, son petit-fils. Tome Premier, Avec une Portrait de B. Franklin. A Paris: Chez Treuttel et Würtz, Libraires, rue de Bourbon, nº 17; Et à Strasbourg, même Maison de Commerce. A Londres: Chez H. Colburn. 1818. 3 vols., 4to, 10 l., pp. 390; (6), 435; 16 l., pp. 410.

This translation was by M. Le Veillard. See Sparks's Franklin, x. 231.

87. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. The Life and Miscellaneous Writings of B. F. Greatly extended and improved. 16mo. London and Edinburgh. 1861.

88. Mémoires écrits par lui-même. Traduits de l'Anglais, et annotés par Édouard Laboulaye. Paris: L. Hachette et Cᵉ. 1866. 12mo.

89. Gedenkschriften van Benjamin Franklin; bestaande in uitgelezen Brieven. Naar het Engelsch. Haarlem. MDCCCXVII. 8vo, pp. viii, 338.

90. A Memorial of the Case of the German Emigrants settled in the British Colonies of Pennsilvania, and the back Parts of Maryland, Virginia, &c. London: Printed in the Year MDCCLIV. 4to, pp. 20, 8.

91. Merkwürdiges Gespräch zwischen Franklin und Washington. Königsberg. 1817. 8vo.

92. A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency. Philadelphia: Printed and sold at the New Printing-Office, near the Market. 1729. 8vo, pp. 36.

Written and printed by B. Franklin, to encourage Washington's paper money, which was done. Signed "B. B. April 3. 1729." His first published tract, which was well received by the common people, but disliked by the rich.

93. Moyens d'avoir toujours de l'Argent dans sa Poche. Nantes: Mellinet. 1829. 12mo.

94. Morceaux choisies comprenant la Science du Bonhomme Richard, et autres écrits populaires de Benjamin Franklin, précédés d'une Notice sur sa Vie. Paris: Carpenter-Mericourt. 1833. 18mo.

95. A Narrative of the Late Massacres, in Lancaster County, of a Number of Indians, Friends of this Province, By Persons unknown. With some Observations on the same. Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXIV. 8vo, pp. 31.

Written and printed by B. Franklin.

96. Necessary Truth; or Seasonable Considerations for the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania. In relation to the Pamphlet call'd Plain Truth: and Two other Writers in the News-Paper. Philadelphia: printed in the year MDCCXLVIII. 8vo, pp. 16.

In the type of Franklin and Hall, and probably written by Franklin.

97. New Experiments and Observations on Electricity. Made at Philadelphia in America. By Benjamin Franklin, Esq.; . . . The Second Edition. London: D. Henry and R. Cave. 1754. 4to, pp. (2), 154. Third Edition. London: D. Henry and R. Cave. 1760. 4to, pp. (6), 154.

There are, in all, three parts of these experiments, and copies are sometimes made up with the dates of 1760, 1762, and 1754.

98. Osservazione a chiunque desiderano passare in America. Padova. 1785. 8vo.

99. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. Of the Stilling of Waves by the Meanes of Oil: extracted from Letters betweene B. F., W. Brownrigg, and Mr. Farish. London. 1774. 4to.

100. A Paper supposed to have been Written by Dr. Benj. Franklin at Paris, for the purpose of Borrowing Money for the Use of the United States. [About 1776.] 8vo.

Title from J. R. Smith's sale catalogue.

101. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. Observations on the Causes and Cure of Smoky Chimnies. Second edition. London. 1787. 8vo.

102. Parton (James). Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin. 2 vols. New-York. 1864.

103. Philosophical and Miscellaneous Papers. Lately written by B. Franklin, LL.D. . . . London: C. Dilly. M.DCC.LXXXVII. 8vo, pp. (6), 186. Plates.

104. Plain Truth: or, Serious Considerations on the Present State of

the City of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania. By a Tradesman of Philadelphia. Printed in the Year MDCCXLVII. 8vo, pp. 22.

Written and printed by Benjamin Franklin. On the back of the title-page is a rude woodcut of Hercules and the Waggoner. A second edition in the same year, which contains an extra leaf, unpaged, pp. 2. Both editions are very rare. The Philadelphia Library has a copy. Printed and sold by Godhard Ambruster: Philadelphia. 1747. 8vo. For a reply, see A Treatise, etc., 1748, and "Sundry Christian Truths, and Short Views of a Pamphlet lately Published, entitled, 'Plain Truth.' In German. By a Tradesman of Germantown. Germantown: printed by C. Sower. 1748."

105. A Pocket | Almanack | For the Year 1742. | Fitted for the Use of Penn- | sylvania, and the neigh- | bouring Provinces. | By Richard Saunders, Phil. | Philadelphia: | Printed by B. Franklin. | 32mo, pp. 16.

Continued to 1749; after that date, printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, to 1766 or later.

106. Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces; Arranged under the following Heads, and Distinguished by Initial Letters in each Leaf: [G. P.] General Politics; [A. 13. P.] American Politics before the Troubles; [A. D. F.] American Politics during the Troubles; [P. P.] Provincial or Colony Politics; and [M. P.] Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces; Written by Benj. Franklin, LL.D. . . . Now first Collected, With Explanatory Plates, Notes, And an Index to the Whole. London: J. Johnson. M DCC LXXIX. 4to, pp. xi, (1), 567, (7). Portrait, 3 Plates, and Table.

See "M. Rev.," LXII. 194. Also printed on large paper.

107. The Same in 8vo.

This differs only from the 4to in the collection of the Register.

108. Poor Richard, 1733. An Almanack For the Year of Christ 1733, Being the First after Leap Year, and makes since the Creation . . . Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and observable Days. Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from London, but may without sensible Error, serve all the adjacent Places, even from Newfoundland to South-Carolina. By Richard Saunders, Philom. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by B. Franklin, at the New Printing-Office near the Market. [n. d.] 12mo, 12 l.

This is the first of this series of almanacs, of which a complete set is almost unknown. This was reprinted in fac-simile, Philadelphia: by George S. Appleton.

1847? 12mo. The issues for 1733 to 1749, inclusive, all consist of 12 leaves each. The almanac for 1748 is entitled,

109. Note, This Almanack us'd to contain but 24 pages, and | now has 36; yet the Price is very little advanc'd. | Poor Richard improved: | Being an | Almanack | and Ephemeris | of the | Motions of the Sun and Moon; | the True | Places and Aspects of the Planets; | the | Rising and Setting of the Sun; | and the | Rising, Setting and Southing of the Moon, | for the | Bissextile Year, 1748. | Containing also, | the Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipses, Judg- | ment of the Weather, Rising and Setting of the | Planets, Length of Days and Nights, Fairs, Courts, | Roads, &c. Together with useful Tables, chro- | nological Observations, and entertaining Remarks. | Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of near | five Hours West from London; but may, without sensible Error, | serve all the Northern Colonies. | By Richard Saunders, Philom. | Philadelphia: Printed and sold by B. Franklin. | 12mo, pp. 36.

Continued to 1761 by B. Franklin; after this year, to 1766, it was Printed and sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall. 12mo,—all with pp. 36. It was continued by Hall and Sellers, Philadelphia, to 1794 or later. To the almanac for 1758 is prefixed a collection of the Proverbs, etc., scattered through the previous numbers. These sayings were frequently reprinted in England as the "Way to Wealth," and in French as "La Science du Bonhomme Richard." Stevens, in his "Nuggets," No. 1110, has also reprinted them. This is the most rare and valuable of the series. The almanacs for 1733–1741 were reprinted and adapted to the years 1850, 1851, and 1852, as below.

110. "Poor Richard." Poor Richard's Almanac for 1850, [1851], [1852] as Written by Benjamin Franklin, for the Years 1733–1734–1735. [1736–1737] . . . The Astronomical Calculations . . . adapted to Boston, New-York, . . . To which is added, . . . the Life of the Great Philosopher, Written by Himself. . . . New-York: John Doggett, Jr. 1849–50. 3 vols., 12mo, pp. 60.

111. Posthumous and other Writings (not contained in his Collected Works, Published from the Originals, by his Grandson, W. T. Franklin). London: H. Colburn. 1819. 2 vols., 8vo.

These are Vols. v. and vi. of our No. 78, with new title-pages.

112. The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, . . . comprising a Series of Letters . . . Illustrating the Memoirs of his Public and Private Life. . . . Published from the Originals, by his Grandson, Wm. Temple Franklin. London: Henry Colburn. 1817. 4to, pp.

xxiii, (2), 449. Second Edition, with Additions. London: H. Colburn. 1817. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xxiv, 486; xi, 475. Plate.

The fourth edition forms Vol. II. of our No. 78, *supra*. The 8vo forms Vols. III. and IV. The title-pages of the fourth edition sometimes vary.

113. The Private Life of the late Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. Late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to France, &c. . . . Originally written by Himself, and now Translated from the French. To which are added, Some Account of his Public Life, a variety of Anecdotes concerning him, by MM. Brissot, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, Le Roy, &c. and the Eulogium of M. Fauchet. . . . London: J. Parsons. 1793. 8vo, pp. xvi, 324.

See "M. Rev.," XIII. 307.

114. Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge, &c. Phila. 14 May, 1743.

Originally printed as a circular. See Sparks's Franklin, VI. 14.

115. Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. M.DCC.XLIX. 8vo, pp. 32.

In the advertisement prefixed to this pamphlet, letters on the subject are requested to be addressed to B. Franklin, Printer, &c., from which it appears probable that Franklin was the author.

116. Remarks on a late Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin an Agent for this Province. [B. Franklin: Philadelphia. Nov. 5th, 1764.] 8vo, pp. 7.

This was an answer to "A Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin an Agent for Pennsylvania. 1764." 8vo, which, in its turn, was answered by

117. An Answer to Mr. Franklin's Remarks on a late Protest. Philadelphia: William Bradford. M.DCC.LXIV. 8vo, pp. 22.

118. Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. Birmingham. 1784. 8vo.

In an advertisement to this tract it is stated that it was written by Dr. Franklin, and taken from a copy printed by himself, for his own amusement, at his house at Passy. "It is strongly marked by that plainness and simplicity of manner, accompanied by that point and poignancy, which distinguish the doctor's writings, whenever he chooses to indulge his vein of pleasantry."—M. Rev., LXXI. 70. Reprinted in Two Tracts. See our No. 134, *infra*.

119. Report of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and other Commissioners, charged by the King of France, with the Examination of the Animal Magnetism, as now practised at Paris. Translated from the French.

With an Historical Introduction. London: J. Johnson. 1785. pp. xx, 123.

120. Rules for Reducing a great Empire to a small one. By the late Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. F.R.S. Dedicated to the Right Honourable Alexander, Lord Loughborough. To which is subjoined The Declaration of Independence by the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled. London: James Ridgway. 1793. 8vo, pp. 16.

Written for the "Public Advertiser" (London), Oct. 1772. The Earl of Hillsborough is alluded to. The dedication to this edition is ironical.

121. La Science du Bonhomme Richard, ou moyen facile de payer les Impôts, dans les Possessions de l'Amérique Angloise; contenant un Discours de Mr. J. Hancock, M. Francklinn, &c. Traduit de l'Anglois. A Philadelphie, et se trouve à Lausanne. 1778. 12mo. Seconde édition, exactement semblable à la première. Philadelphie et Paris: Renault. 1778. 12mo, pp. 151. Troisième édition. [Ibid.] à Riom. 1799. 12mo. Paris, 1830. 32mo, pp. 30. Paris. 1852. 18mo, pp. 35.

Contains also the examination of Dr. Franklin before the British Parliament, in 1766, translated by Dupont de Nemours; the Constitution of Pennsylvania, as established in 1776; and the examination of Mr. Penn, at the bar of Parliament, in 1776, translated by MM. Quetant and Lecuy.

122. [The Same.] Avec un Abrégé de la Vie de l'Auteur, par M. J. B. Say. Paris. An 2. 1794. 12mo.

123. La Science du Bonhomme Richard. [Précédée de l'histoire typographique de l'auteur.] Paris: C. L. F. Panckoucke. 1827. Folio, pp. xvi, 16. Paris: Jules Renouard. 1865. 32mo, 2 l.; pp. 34.

A splendid edition of the folio, and but few printed.

124. La Science du Bonhomme Richard, précédée d'un Abrégé de la Vie de Franklin, et suivie de son Interrogatoire devant la Chambre des Communes. Paris. L'An II [1794]. 16mo.

125. La Ciencia del buen Ricardo, ó el Camino de la Fortuna. Y Pensamientos sobre Moral, Politica, Literatura, Religion y Costumbres por J. M. Samper. Carácas. 1858. 8vo, pp. 88.

126. The Select Works of Benjamin Franklin, including his Autobiography; with Notes and Memoirs. By Epes Sargent. Boston. 1858. 12mo, pp. 502. Portrait.

127. . . . Sämmtliche Werke. Aus dem Englischen und Französischen übersetzt. . . . von G. T. Wenzel. Dresden. 1780. 3 vols., 8vo, pp. (12), 502, Portrait ; (12), 442, Plates; (12), 636.

128. Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital; From its first Rise, to the Beginning of the Fifth Month, called May, 1754. Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall. MDCCLIV. 4to, pp. 40. Continuation of the Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital; From the First of May 1754, to the Fifth of May 1761, With an Alphabetical List of the Contributors, and of the Legacies which have been bequeathed, for Promotion and Support thereof, from its first Rise to that Time. Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall. MDCCLXI. 4to, pp. 41–77.

129. Some Account of the Success of Inoculation for the Small-Pox in England and America. Together with Plain Instructions. . . . London: Printed by W. Strahan. M,DCC,LIX. 8vo, pp. 8, 12.

130. Some Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c. [n. p. n. d.] 8vo, pp. 15.

131. Some | Observations | on the | Proceedings | against the Rev. Mr. Hemphill; | with a | Vindication of his Sermons. | Philadelphia: Printed and sold by B. Franklin. 1735. | 12mo, pp. 32. The Second Edition. [Ibid.]

Ascribed positively to Franklin in Webster's "Presbyterian Church in America," p. 111.

132. B. Franklin's Tagebuch entworfen 1730 und hundert Jähres später als Denkmal für die Nachwelt gestellteschwege. 1830. 8vo.

133. The True Root of Scarcity; or Sure Road to Competence in times of Dearth, And to Riches in times of Plenty. Edinburgh: C. Stewart & Co. M,DCCC,I. 12mo, pp. 23.

134. Two Tracts: Information to those who would remove to America. And, Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. London: John Stockdale. MDCCLXXXIV. 8vo, pp. 39. Second Edition. [Ibid.] 8vo, pp. 39. Third Edition. [Ibid.] 8vo, pp. 39. Dublin. 1784. 8vo, pp. 30.

The first of these tracts was written by Dr. Franklin, on account of numerous applications made to him by persons desirous of emigrating to America, with sanguine expectations, in order that they might not be disappointed on their arrival. The second is a reprint of No. 37, *supra*.

135. Vie de Benjamin Franklin écrite par lui-même, suivie de ses Œuvres morales, politiques et littéraires, dont la plus grande partie n'avait pas encore été publiée. Traduites de l'Anglais par J. Castéra. Paris: Buisson. An 6 (1798), 2 vols., 8vo. Avec un Portrait.

136. The Way to Wealth, or Poor Richard Improved. La Science du Bonhomme Richard, ou moyen facile de payer les impôts. Lettres de Franklin. Dialogue entre la goutte et Franklin. Quelques mots sur l'Amérique. Avis à ceux qui voudroient aller s'établir dans cette contrée. Observations sur les sauvages du Nord de l'Amérique. Paris: Printed for Ant. Aug. Renouard. 1795. 18mo, pp. 181, 28. Portrait.

Beautifully printed. The letters to Franklin above mentioned are private, and addressed to Madame * *, dated Passy, 1778 and 1779.

137. The Way to Wealth as clearly shown in the Preface of an old Pennsylvania Almanac, intitled, Poor Richard Improved. [n. p. n. d.] 8vo, pp. 16. Paisley. 1784. 12mo, pp. 16. London. 1780, fol. Salem. 12mo, pp. 16. Worcester. 1790. 12mo. London. 1823. 12mo. Newburyport, Mass. [n. d.] 12mo. Windsor, Vt. 1826. 24mo.

138. The Way to Wealth; or, the Admonition of Poor Richard. . . . The Whistle, a Story. . . . By Dr. Franklin. . . . Printed by J. Marshall, Newcastle. [1817.] 12mo, pp. 24. Way to Wealth, to which is added the Prompter, or Maxims and Common Sayings, by Noah Webster. 1808. 12mo. Plate.

Also issued with various other titles; one is called "Advice to a Young Tradesman, . . . 1748. Philadelphia: printed by Danl. Humphreys." [n. d.] Folio, 1 l.

139. Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. London: C. Dilly. [1785?]

Concerning this edition, which I have not seen, see Sparks's Franklin, x. 240. See also the same, VIII. 404, for a notice of an edition by Benjamin Vaughan, 1779.

140. Works of the late Doctor Franklin: Consisting of his Life. Written by Himself, together with Essays, Humorous, Moral & Literary, Chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson. 1793. 2 vols., 12mo, Engraved Titles, pp. ix, (2), 317; 3 l., pp. 268. Second Edition. [Ibid.] Third Edition. [Ibid. Dublin: P. Wogan, P. Byrne, J. Moore. 1793. 8vo, vi, (2), 303. Portrait.

This edition was edited by Dr. Price. See "M. Rev.," XIII. 304.

141. Works of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin; consisting of his Life, written by himself, together with Essays, Humourous, Moral & Literary,

chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. The Second American Edition. New York: Printed by Samuel Campbell. 1794. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 206; 142.

This edition contains "The Eulogium," by the Abbé Fauchet.

142. Works of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Consisting of his Life, written by Himself. Together with Essays, Humorous, Moral, and Literary, chiefly in the manner of the Spectator. Dundee: 2 vols. 1796. 12mo. Fairhaven, Vt.: J. Lyon. 1798. 12mo. pp. 254. Charlestown: Printed by John Lawson. 1798. 12mo, pp. 300. Portrait. London: A. Millar. 1799. 2 vols., 18mo, pp. vi, (2), 207; v. 201. Huntington. 1800. 2 vols., 12mo. Philadelphia. 1801. 2 vols., 12mo. Portrait. London. 1802. 2 vols., 12mo. London. 1806. 16mo. Portrait. New York. 1807. 16mo. London. 1809. 24mo. Edinburgh: Printed by D. Schaw & Son. 1809. 2 vols., 16mo, pp. (8), 5–233; (4), 186. [Ibid.] 1814. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 1818. 18mo, pp. 204, 228. Chiswick: C. Whittingham. 1824. 16mo, pp. viii, 295. Peekskill, N. Y. 1834. 18mo. London, 1843. 16mo. Hartford: S. Andrus and Son. 1847. 18mo, pp. 304.

And many other editions.

143. The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin [as above]. Philadelphia. 1815. 12mo, pp. 335. [Ibid.] 1818.

144. Works of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin: Consisting of Memoirs of his Early Life, Written by Himself; together with a Collection of his Essays, Humorous, Moral and Literary, chiefly in the Manner of the Spectator. A New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Easton: Henry W. Gibbs. 1810. 12mo, pp. 274.

145. The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of Essays, Humorous, Moral, and Literary, with His Life, Written by Himself. New York: W. Van Norden. 1825. 18mo. Boston. 1825. 2 vols., 16mo. Baltimore: N. Hickman. 1835. 18mo, pp. 304.

146. The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in Philosophy, Politics, and Morals: containing, besides all the Writings Published in Former Collections, his Diplomatic Correspondence, as Minister of the United States, at the Court of Versailles: a Variety of Literary Articles, and Epistolary Correspondence, never before published; with Memoirs and Anecdotes of his Life. Philadelphia: William Duane. 1809–1818. 6

vols., 8vo, pp. xxii, 519; (2), xxxv, 431; (6), 477; (6), 407; viii, 434; xxiii, 564.

Some copies of this, and all the English editions, read Memoirs, etc., as in No. 78, *supra*.

147. The Works of Benjamin Franklin; containing several Political and Historical Tracts not included in any Former Edition, and many Letters, Official and Private, not hitherto published; with Notes and A Life of the Author. By Jared Sparks. Boston: Hilliard, Gray and Company. 1836–40. 10 vols., 8vo, pp. xxxvii, (2), 612; ix, (2), 557; xv, 577; ix, (2), 539; xv, 516; xiii, (2), 578; xxxi, (2), 568; xxii, (2), 554; xxi, (2), 550; xix, (2), 540, Corrigenda, 1 l., 3 cancelled l. 22 Plates.

148. Œuvres de M. Franklin, Docteur es Loix, Membre de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris, des Sociétés Royales de Londres & de Gottingue, des Sociétés Philosophiques d'Edimbourg & de Rotterdam, Président de la Société Philosophique de Philadelphie, & Résident à la Cour de la Grande-Bretagne pour plusieurs Colonies Britanniques Américaines. Traduites de l'Anglois sur la quatrième édition. Par M. Barbeu Dubourg. Avec des Additions Nouvelles et des Figures en Taille douce. . . . A Paris: Chez Quillau l'aîné. M.DCC.LXXIII. 2 vols., 4to, pp. xxiv, 338; xv, 320. 12 Plates.

"The friendship of the author for me has induced him to draw from his portfolio some papers which had not yet appeared, to enrich the French edition."—*Preface.*

149. Nachgelassene Schriften und Correspondenz, nebst seinem Leben. Weimar. 1817. 5 vols., 8vo.

150. Letters, to the Merchants' Committee of Philadelphia, Submitted to the Consideration of the Public. Folio, pp. 1.

Published Monday morning, May 14, 1770. From B. Franklin and John Neufville, of So. Ca.

151. A Book for All. Cambridge: Printed for the Author. 1855. 12mo, pp. 36.

152. The Apprentice. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856. 12mo.

153. The Boy's Life and Essays of Franklin. Philadelphia. [n. d.] 18mo.

154. A Letter to Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. F.R.S. In which his pre-

tensions to the title of Natural Philosopher are considered. London: J. Bew. 1777. 8vo.

A pompous attempt to undervalue the merits of Franklin.

155. Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his Family and Friends, 1751–1790. New York: C. B. Richardson. 1858. Rl. 8vo, pp. 195. 3 Plates.

Edited by W. J. Duane. Some copies are dated New York. 1859. Edition, 250 copies rl. 8vo, and 10 in 4to. Scarce. See "Athenæum," No. 1656.

156. Memoirs of the Late Dr. Benjamin Franklin; With a Review of his Pamphlet, entitled "Information to those who would wish to remove to America." London: A. Grant. 1790. 8vo, pp. 94. Portrait.

An endeavor to depreciate the Doctor, and a flat contradiction of his representations as to emigration. See "M. Rev.," IX. 83.

157. Memorial of the Inauguration of the Statue of Franklin.

158. The Printer Boy; or, How Ben Franklin made his Mark. An Example for Youth. Boston: J. E. Tilton. 1864. 12mo, pp. xvi, 261.

159. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. B. F., the Printer's-Boy. 12mo. Edinburgh. 1865.

160. Die Väter unserer Republik in ihrem Leben und Wirken. Leben Benjamin Franklins. New York. 1847. 8vo.

161. Euskildta lefeverne Ofwersättn. Stockholm. 1792. 8vo. Portrait.

162. Proceedings at the Printers' Banquet, held by the N. Y. Typographical Society, on the occasion of Franklin's Birth-Day, Jan. 17, 1850, at Niblo's, . . . New York: Charles B. Norton. 1850. 8vo, pp. 64.

163. The Answer of his Excellency William Franklin, Esq; Governor of His Majesty's Province of New Jersey, to the invidious charges of the Proprietary Party, contained in a Libel, read by Mr. James Biddle, Clerk of the Common Pleas for the County of Philadelphia, on Saturday last, and afterwards published and industriously dispersed through the Province. [Philadelphia. n. d.] Folio, 1 l.

164. A Humble Attempt at Scurrility, in Imitation of Those Great Masters of the Art, The Rev. Dr. S—th; the Rev. Dr. Al—n; the Rev.

Mr. Ew—n; the Reverend D. J. D—oe, and the Heroic J—n D—n, Esq; Being a full Answer to the Observations on Mr. H—s's Advertisement. By Jack Retort, Student in Scurrility. Quilsilvania; Printed. 1765. 8vo, pp. 48.

A defence of Dr. Franklin, by his son, W. Franklin. Printed at Philadelphia. The initials in the title severally signify: Smith, Allison, Ewing, Dove, John Dickinson, and Hughes. A large copper-plate caricature of the election scene was published in the same vein.

165. Franklin (Benjamin), LL.D. Opere filosofiche di B. F. Nuovamente raccolte, e dalli Origine Inglese recate in Lingua Italiana. Padova. 1783. 8vo.

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